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**Tourism at the Roof of the World:
Young Hosts Assess Tourism Community Futures in Lhasa, Tibet**

Thesis submitted by Mao-Ying Wu

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December, 2012**

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Statement of the Contributions of Others

The table below states the persons and organizations who have contributed to this thesis.

Nature of assistance	Contribution	Names, Titles (if relevant) and Affiliations of Co-Contributors
Intellectual support	Proposal writing	Prof. Philip L. Pearce (James Cook University)
	Data analysis	Prof. Philip L. Pearce and Dr. Laurie Murphy (James Cook University)
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	Ideas and concepts contribution	Prof. Philip L. Pearce (James Cook University), Prof. Geoffrey Wall (University of Waterloo), Prof. Lingqiang Zhou & Dr. Yongguang Zhou (Zhejiang University), and some anonymous reviewers
Financial support	Field trip	Ph.D Funding Scheme from School of Business (2009-2012), FLBCA internal research grant in 2010 (James Cook University)
	Stipend	Australian Endeavour Postgraduate Research Award (2009.02-2013.02)
	Publication grant	FLBCA internal research grant in 2012 (James Cook University)
Data Collection	Field trip organization	Mr. Ping Wang (Lhasa Tourism Administration); Mr. Wenmin Zhang, Prof.

		Tudeng Kezhu, A/P Danzeng Zhuoma & A/P Aiqing Xing (University of Tibet); and Prof. Lingqiang Zhou & A/P Junliang Lu (Zhejiang Univeristy)
	Research assistance	Mr. Tawang (Zhejiang University); Mr. Pingcuo Langjie (Tibet Organization Dept.); Mr. Mima Danzeng, Miss Suolang Deji, & Mr Suolang Renqing (University of Tibet), Miss Xiaowei Shi and many others
	Data transcription	Miss Wen Wang and Mr. Jianhua Shu (University of Tibet)

Mao-Ying Wu

17, December, 2012

Declaration on Ethics

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted within the guidelines for research ethics outlined in the National Statement on Ethics Conduct in Research involving Humans (1999), the James Cook University Policy on Experimentation Ethics, Standard Practices and Guidelines (2001). The proposed research methodology received clearance from the James Cook University Experimentation Ethics Review Committee (Approval number **H3437**).

Mao-Ying Wu

17, December, 2012

Acknowledgements

The journey to James Cook University in Australia in early 2009 was my first overseas trip. It was a long trip with beautiful stories and good memories. It was also a trip full of souvenirs. The souvenir that I'm most proud of and of course, will cherish in all my life, is this thesis.

Studying in a very different country under a system that I've never experienced was an adventure for me. The core part of this study, writing an academic thesis was full of challenges, as well as fulfillments. This work can never be done without the help and support from many generous individuals and organizations. I would like to express my sincere thanks to all of them.

The foremost thanks go to my principle supervisor, Prof. Philip L. Pearce. It was his positive reply for my Ph.D position application that inspired my research passion. It was his long email reply on my second scholarship application enquiry that ensured my belief in him, that he is the right supervisor to work with, because he puts the students' future and career as a priority. Indeed, he is the best supervisor that I can ever imagine. He, as a psychologist, fully understands his students and treats them personally. His optimism, encouragement, intelligence, patience, consideration and humour helped me overcome most of the challenges during the study. It is our common belief in being excellent and our common interest in seeing more about this amazing world that keeps me learning from him - being happy, being thoughtful and being productive. I will always remember the serious care and energy he offers to the work he loves, e.g. supervising junior researchers. Thanks, Prof, for your incredible belief and support during this long and enjoyable trip.

Considerable thanks are also extended to my co-supervisors, Dr. Laurie Murphy and Dr. Pierre Benckendorff, especially Laurie. She is very supportive and always available. Her skills in statistical analysis saved me a lot of time in properly analyzing the complex data in this thesis. Her lectures on Tourism Destination Management broadened my horizons in exploring the diverse tourism world. Her comments on some of my journal publications and this thesis are also highly appreciated. Sincere thanks also go to some of the administrative staff in School of Business, James Cook University, especially Mrs. Robyn Yesberg. I benefited a lot from her consideration for the students and her efficiency in organizing and solving problems.

The design of this study was greatly inspired by two monographs in tourism community

research. The two seminal works that I really appreciate are *Tourism Community Relationships* (Pearce, Moscardo & Ross, 1996) and *Tourism: Change, Impacts and Opportunities* (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

Thirdly, my thanks go to all the participants during my 7 months field trip in Lhasa and Hangzhou. The field trip turned out to be much tougher than I expected. It is these lovely and open-minded “Post 80s” in this land of beauty who helped me relieve the tears and doubts of my research, and better understand the Tibetan society and tourism industry. It is also these friendly young people who made me love this fantastic land and people in this land. Thanks also go to the staff in School of Foreign Studies and Tourism in Tibet University and Lhasa Tourism Administration, especially Mr. Ping Wang, Mr. Wenmin Zhang, Prof. Tudeng Kezhu, A/P Danzeng Zhuoma and A/P Aiqing Xing.

In addition, I would like to thank some of the anonymous reviewers for the multiple research outputs from this thesis and a related project. Their penetrating comments greatly enhanced the quality of this work. I was fully aware of their helpfulness when I wrote the synthesis and conclusion chapter and polished the draft. I owe you considerable thanks.

Further, those who offered the financial support for this study, e.g. Australian Endeavour Postgraduate Award, and School of Business in James Cook University also deserve my great thanks. They ensured my ability to focus on the research that I’m interested in. Special appreciation goes to my scholarship case managers, Ms. Betania Passos and Ms. Anthea Rothe in the Austraining, for their professional support during my four year research journey in Australia.

My ex-supervisors in Zhejiang University, my house parents in Townsville, my friends in both Australia and China, thanks very much for making my life full of sweet and lovely things, and for making these four years most memorable.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family in China. Without them, I will have never achieved as much as these days. Without them, this thesis would most definitely not have been written. I love being one of you. Thanks for having me and thank you for your unconditional support.

Mao-Ying Wu

17, December, 2012

Abstract

This thesis aims to explore how the Tibetan “post 80s” youth assess tourism community futures in Lhasa, Tibet. This work can be classified as tourism community studies, which has been an important agenda within tourism research for several decades. The studies were developed by reviewing previous research in four areas: tourism community relationships studies, tourism future studies, tourism research in and about youth, and tourism research in China and Tibet. Five research opportunities were identified, which helped shape five notable features of this thesis. These five distinctive characteristics are: applying a forward-looking perspective, integrating the emic and etic research approaches, focusing on the young hosts, working in a non-western urban context, and undertaking research at a community level.

To achieve the overall aim, this thesis employed a research design process which comprised two levels. At the conceptual level, social representations theory, the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, and an integration of the emic and etic approach were selected because they were seen as mutually complementary. The social representations theory helps to understand how people “see” and organise their views of the tourism futures. The SL framework provides the content of what defines and constitutes community perceptions and preferences. The integration of the emic and etic approaches acts as the glue or connecting agent for the joint use of these two approaches. It offers a way to implement the theories and framework, particularly in cross-cultural studies as it helps elicit locally meaningful representations. At the methodological level, three methods - photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups incorporating photos, and a questionnaire based survey with picture scenarios - were carefully considered and selected. These three methods are consistent with the essence of the research approach, that is, to offer a natural research environment to elicit the emic voices from the research respondents. These three methods were carried out in a sequence with the earlier data collection phases providing information for the construction of the next activity.

Two physically close communities at the roof of the world (in Lhasa, Tibet) were chosen as the study sites. They are the Old Town of Lhasa and Caigongtang Town (a suburban town). These two communities differed in their social and economic backgrounds, as well as their degree of exposure to tourism. The young generation living and working in the communities were the research respondents. Following the full development of the research design and the specification of the research context, the overall research aim was subdivided into five sub-aims which were explored across four chapters of this thesis (Chapter 3-6).

Chapter 3 of this thesis presents the foundation studies in the Old Town of Lhasa. These findings were based on four photo-elicitation interviews and four focus groups. The foundation studies revealed that the young hosts defined the future as the next 5-10 years. Lay concepts of tourism and tourism livelihoods issues were examined. An analysis of the data identified that there were five sets of tourism assets in the Old Town of Lhasa. These assets were the world heritage sites, the religious sites, the Tibetan traditional yards, the daily life and customs, as well as the Tibetan medicine. The young hosts considered that “outsiders” were interested in visiting these sites in their community. It was found that the contextual issues, especially the cultural values, institutional arrangements and vulnerability issues were very influential to the young hosts’ access to different forms of development assets (e.g. economic, human and social), their representations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice, as well as their pursuit of tourism livelihoods outcomes.

Chapter 4 fully explored different levels of perceptions of the young hosts’ gaze towards tourism community futures in the Old Town of Lhasa. It employed a questionnaire based survey, which was built on the adjusted SL framework under the guidelines of social representations theory. A diversity of statistical methods were undertaken through SPSS 20.0. A holistic approach was employed to interpret the data, considering three components of social and cultural values operating on and through tourism (e.g. a primary concern on the social stability, the traditional values, and the contemporary thinking). In detail, this chapter firstly explored and found the young hosts’ perceptions of and preferences for the development of 5 different sets of tourism assets and the tourist groups were quite complex and fluid. These representations were determined by the nature of the tourism assets, their cultural values, their social life and their images of different tourist groups. Later, their concerns about economic assets, human assets and social assets, as well as their understanding towards the vulnerability issues and PIP issues were presented. The issues on institutional arrangement which address the access to assets and political stability were commonly highlighted. Polemical representations on seasonality were identified. Further, this chapter analysed the representations of tourism as a future livelihoods choice. Emancipated representations in the community were observed. Four distinctive groups, moderate supporters, the community-oriented supporters, the willingly involved controllers, and the lovers, emerged with clear characteristics. The last section of chapter 4 adopted IPA analysis to explore the young hosts’ aspirations and priorities towards sustainable livelihoods outcomes. It indicated that the young hosts placed “maintain and even improve the

environment”, “availability of legislation and regulations to tourism market”, “Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected” and “more people approach Lhasa with an open mind” as their highest priorities.

Chapter 5, focusing on the suburban Caigongtang Town, forms a complementary study in this thesis. It was selected to better understand how the contextual issues affect the hosts’ assessment of tourism community futures and their preferred involvement. Similar methods were conducted in a sequence in this suburban site, with minor differences in the techniques used to recruit the research participants. The same study topics as these investigated in the Old Town of Lhasa were examined in this suburban site. In detail, two sets of tourism assets, the Linka parks and reality of the town, were identified. Tourists were generally understood as city people from Lhasa city and nearby counties, visiting them on a daily basis. A highlight of the suburban study site is that the young hosts there significantly preferred a community-based tourism development style, rather than invested by outside companies. Concerning tourism as a future livelihoods choice, the suburban youth showed diverse representations as well, but generally less enthusiasm than their urban counterparts. They expected that tourism livelihoods would bring them better public infrastructure (especially sealed roads) and amenities (more fun in the community). They would also like to see the protection and appreciation of local culture and customs, as well as customers’ (city people’s) satisfaction.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) provided a synthesis of the research. A comparison of the findings for the two physically close communities was undertaken and subtle similarities and differences highlighted. Reflecting the research opportunities identified earlier, the chapter then documented how this thesis has seized these opportunities and has contributed to both academic work and practical directions for tourism managers. It enhanced our understanding of doing research in marginal and politically sensitive contexts. It strengthened the diverse nature of a society, tourism’s role in community development, and the importance of thinking through tourism and contextual issues. Practically, this thesis may help Lhasa authorities, not limited to tourism, better plan and develop through the contribution from local youth, the understanding of their aspirations and priorities. In addition, this chapter also briefly presents the research limitations with solutions offered. Finally, four areas of future research were revealed with concise suggestions for further exploration of Tibetan tourism.

At core, this thesis is about how the young generation in Lhasa views the tourism community futures, especially their future livelihoods choices. However, this thesis’ contents, which are arguably rich and comprehensive, are not limited to tourism at the roof of the world. In fact,

the work provides a wide window through which readers may not only learn about Tibet tourism's past, present and future, but they may also have a greater understanding of the modernization and transformation in Tibet, China.

Research outputs from this thesis

The table below lists the original publications generated from this thesis. The nature and extent of the intellectual input by others is stated as well.

Table 2: Research outputs from this thesis (published and submitted)

Source chapter	Details of the publication	Nature and extent of the intellectual input by others
Chapter 2	Pearce, P. L., & Wu, M.-Y., (2010). <i>The joint power of social representations theory and livelihoods analysis to assess tourism community futures</i> . Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of Asia Pacific Tourism Association (APTA), Macau, China.	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Pearce suggested the framework and the relationships among each component, while Wu wrote the draft.
Chapter 1 and additional research	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (2012). Tourism research in and about Tibet: Employing a system for reviewing regional tourism studies. <i>Tourism and Hospitality Research</i> , 12(2): 59-72.	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu did the data analysis and draft writing under Pearce's supervision. Pearce also assisted the writing the final work.
Chapter 3, 4, 5 and additional materials	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (2012). Tourists to Lhasa, Tibet: How local youth classify, understand and respond to different types of travellers. <i>Asia Pacific Journal of Travel Research</i> . DOI: 10.1080/10941665.2012.680975	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu collected and analysed the data with Pearce's supervision from the beginning to the end.

Chapter 1, 3 and 4	Wu, M.-Y., (2012). Tourism gaze: A review and prospect. <i>Tourism Tribune</i> , (3): 107-112	Solo work.
Chapter 3 and 4	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (2013). Looking down, looking out, and looking forward: Tibetan youth view tourism in the future. In O. Moufakkir & Y. Reisinger (Eds.), <i>The Host Gaze in Global Tourism</i> (pp.125-141). Oxfordshire: CABI.	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu collected and analysed the data, and wrote the first draft. Pearce contributed to the organization and editing of the work.
Chapter 3, 4, 6 and additional materials	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (in press). Assets-based community development as applied in tourism in Tibet. <i>Tourism Geographies</i> .	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu suggested the idea and wrote the draft, with considerable intellectual contribution from Pearce.
Additional materials	Wu, M.-Y. (2013). I would love to work in tourism, but.... Exploring the outcomes of an ethnic tourism education initiative. <i>Journal of Hospitality, Leisure, Sport & Tourism Education</i> , 12(1): 47-58.	Solo work.
Chapter 2, 3 and 4	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (re-submitted in Aug. 2012). Tourism as a future livelihoods choice for Tibetan youth. <i>Journal of Sustainable Tourism</i> .	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu collected and analysed the data with intellectual, statistical and editing support from Pearce.
Chapter 3, 4 and additional materials	Wu, M.-Y., & Pearce, P. L. (submitted in Oct. 2012). Welcoming tourists to Tibet: Views of young hosts. <i>Tourist Studies</i> .	Co-work with her principle supervisor. Wu proposed the idea with Pearce's intellectual support.

Chapter 5 and additional materials	Wu, M.-Y. (submitted in Nov. 2012). A tale of two parks: Tibetan youth's preferences for tourism community futures. <i>Tourism Management</i> .	Solo work
Additional materials	Wu, M.-Y. (submitted in Dec. 2012). Approaching tourism: Perspectives from the young hosts in a rural heritage community in Tibet. <i>Current Issues in Tourism</i> .	Solo work

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List of Abbreviations

ASA: Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth

CASS: Chinese Academy of Social Science

CCCA: China Central Civilization Office

CCCO: China Central Civilization Office

CCCPC: Central Committee of Communist Party of China

China: People's Republic of China

CMoE: China Ministry of Education

CNKI: China National Knowledge Infrastructure

CNTA: China National Tourism Administration

COTRI: China Outbound Tourism Research Institute

CTRC: China Tibetology Research Center

DFID: UK Department for International Development

DMO: Destination Management Organization

IFAD: International Fund for Agriculture Development

ILO: International Labour Organization

IPA: Importance Performance Analysis

MDGs: Millennium Development Goals

NBS: China National Bureau of Statistic

NCCPCC: National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative
Conference

NPC: National People's Congress

PATA: Pacific Asia Travel Association

RGoB: Royal Government of Bhutan

SLs: Sustainable livelihoods

SLF: Sustainable livelihoods framework

TCR: Tourism community relationships

Tibet: Tibet Autonomous Region

TTB: Tibet Tourism Bureau

TU: Tibet University

WAITOC: West Australian Indigenous Tourism Operators Committee

WCED: World Commission on Environment and Development

WFS: World Future Society

WLRA: World Leisure and Recreation Association

WTO: World Tourism Organization

WYSE: World Youth Student & Educational

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNWTO: United Nations World Tourism Organization

Chapter 1 – Introduction and Literature Review

Chapter Structure

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1.1 Introduction: Overview and Significance of research

“Now, the pace of change is so great that it seems to propel us into the future. But the future cannot be what it brings to us, it must be how we want it to be. The socioeconomic changes must be what we seek, not completely what the forces beyond our control compel us to accept.” (Royal Government of Bhutan, 1999, p.5)

Tibet is a complex community. It is an autonomous region of China, a centre for religious practices and a physically challenging setting – literally a region on “the roof of the world”. An enduring reality of the contemporary world is change, and Tibet is experiencing some dramatic transitions. In the minds of many commentators, Tibet is a contested space and the role of tourism in this socio-political landscape is arguably powerful. For the youth who live there and for the tourists who come to see this special place, the marked tourism growth to Tibet in the last decade poses complex questions relating to community development and its future.

The present thesis is centrally concerned with representing young Tibetan residents’ perspectives on such tourism community futures. The studies are pursued within the context that more and more ethnic destinations in less developed areas employ tourism as a tool, even a panacea, for regional development (Blackman, *et al.*, 2004; Boyne, Hall, & Gallagher, 2000; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007) and a strategy for livelihoods enhancement (Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; Tao, 2006).

Young residents are the specific group of interest, because they are both “indicators” of future social transitions and also, as young hosts, they are under-represented and overlooked by the research community. This specific study chose Tibetan young hosts from two communities which differed in tourism characteristics and destination development. More specifically, the young hosts are “Post 80s” Tibetan youth. This youth group, who were born in 1980s and grew up under China’s social and economic transition, are a rising force across the Chinese world.

The studies fall into the general category of tourism community relationships studies. This area of academic interest represents a research agenda of some significance in the total picture of studies on the development of tourism (Pearce & Moscardo, 1999; Tribe & Xiao, 2011). Even though the previously underdeveloped countries are rising and generating increasing tourists overseas (Winter, Teo & Chang, 2009), “the truth about tourism” is still mainly told by a privileged, largely western set of researchers and many significant truths remain under- and untold (Huang, 201; Tribe, 2006; Winter, 2009). This study endeavours to make some contributions to the current research community by opening up and exploring concepts, analogies and relationships to fit the Chinese context as well as by looking ahead. In doing so, it rejects some conventional professional wisdom. It combines social representations theory and Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF) in an emic style. As a result, this study, compared with previous research in this area, provides some fresh perspectives that may contribute to the research community.

Firstly, a notable feature of this study is a future-oriented and forward-looking perspective. It is different from the dominant studies about tourism community change that are basically backward-looking (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Gössling & Scott, 2012). Studies which look ahead have some practical relevance for policy makers and practitioners who struggle to balance quality of life issues with building a strong economy. Such decision makers are interested in the prediction of possible impacts and preferences, so that decisions on development will be better accepted by the whole society.

Secondly, this research is contextually sensitive. To be specific, it is Tibetan-sensitive. Special attention has been paid to the cultural and historical issues in Tibet, to make sure this study is both culturally and historically well founded. Theoretically, this thesis is inspired both by research traditions presented in the English language as well as by writings about tourism in Mandarin. Practically, the unprecedented growth of tourism in Tibet in the last ten years has promoted a host of questions. However, answers are only now beginning to emerge. By designing research methods using an emic approach,

that is accessing the local voices, the social-cultural contexts which operate on and through tourism are incorporated and reflected.

In addition, this study focuses on the young residents in the community. In previous tourism studies, attention has been widely given to young tourists, while young hosts have been the “forgotten half”. In this study, the young hosts, Tibetan “Post 80s” were placed in the centre of the research design, and their voices for future development were recorded. The research sample covered local youth of different backgrounds in two study sites in Lhasa, rather than convenience samples from colleges/universities. The importance of youth has been highlighted by researchers (Bennell, 2007; Jentsch & Shucksmith, 2003). Specific research on this group facilitates their ability to fulfil their roles in future development.

Further, this study is multidisciplinary, which is consistent with the multifaceted nature of tourism (Chambers, 2007; Graburn & Jafari, 1991; Pearce, 2011a). Tourism is a challenging area for researchers because of its multi-faceted nature. In ‘thinking through tourism’ (Scott & Selwyn, 2010), it is inappropriate to be restricted to a single discipline (Wearing, Stevenson, & Young, 2010). The multidisciplinary nature of this study is achieved by careful consideration of the methodology and the overall paradigmatic approach. Several established tourism scholars have shown their concern on the paucity of methodological guidelines or frameworks in tourism studies, including tourism community studies (Dann, Nash, & Pearce, 1988; Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1996; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Xiao & Smith, 2006b). This study integrates social representations theory, the Sustainable Livelihoods framework (SLF), and an integration of an emic and etic approach into the one research system. This system offers guidelines of how to approach the topic, what to examine, and how to conduct the research.

Last but not least, this study is primarily carried out at a community level. This level of focus responds to Wall and Mathieson’s (2006, p. 324) call that “there is a need to undertake additional investigations in destination areas where most of the impacts of

tourism occur". Generalizations derived from studies at the national scale may be misleading if applied to more restricted areas (c.f. Carter & Beeton, 2008). In this study, two communities with different characteristics were chosen as complementary cases, with detailed contextual information for each being provided. This study endeavours to reflect what the young generation in the communities choose to do, or not do, with respect to their assets, their desires and their preferences for tourism development and livelihoods choices. Analysis concerning complementary communities provides researchers, managers and policy makers with a better understanding of the future leaders, especially their views on their future livelihoods concerning tourism. It also offers insights concerning how these views are embedded within the wider social-cultural, economic, and political framework.

In summary, the research interest of this study lies in assessing the young hosts' views of their future livelihoods in Lhasa, the capital city of Tibet, China. Related literature in tourism and community studies, future studies and youth studies will be considered to frame this interest. In the following sections, tourism research in China and Tibet will be highlighted. Based on the systematic review, research opportunities will be summarized, and help establish foundation points for this thesis.

As previously stated, the focus of this study will be in Lhasa, a politically charged context. For such political sensitive settings, Tribe (2004) and Maier (2012) have suggested that the researcher reveals his/her position in relation to the context. The author of this study is a Han Chinese female scholar based in an Australian university. She built her positive links to Tibetan youth in general through previous joint study in common courses at an east coast Chinese University and through her four and a half months field work in Lhasa, Tibet. The work was conducted under the auspices and ethics procedures of an Australian University with no political links or affiliations to power and political bases in China.

The intent of the work is to provide a rich description and overview of how Tibetan youth view tourism livelihoods related issues in their community at both the

immediate and future temporal scales. It does this without prejudging the value of tourism to the Tibetan youth or presupposing that tourism will be a good option for them or their community. While western opinions about the political situation in Tibet are a part of contested international debates, such concerns are manifested in the research only to the extent that local Tibetan youth feel free in the environment created by the researcher to express the influence of such issues on their tourism livelihood choices. A classification of the researcher's position in terms of paradigms locates the work in an interpretive or constructivist framework usefully employing an emic approach to elicit evidence based perspectives rather than being at the forefront of critical theory considerations concerning Tibetan tourism and politics (cf. Pritchard, 2012). The researcher does not oppose or reject critical approaches to Tibetan tourism policies and agendas but rather the style of work reported here seeks to meet other descriptive and explanatory goals.

1.2 Research in Tourism and Communities

Literature across disciplines is examined in this section, and justifies why special attention needs to be paid to tourism community relationships research. The analysis of previous studies also helps guide approaches which can result in insightful and incisive research in this area. Based on the review work, the state of knowledge is critically analysed.

Before going into the details of literature reviews in this area, the author would like to assert that this thesis adopts an ecological approach of community definition (Burr, 1991, as cited in Pearce, *et al.* 1996). In an ecological approach, the community living together and adapting to the setting, a process that produces distinctive community characteristics.

1.2.1 Why tourism and communities?

The significance of tourism community relationships can be understood from the origins of research on this topic, which highlight the importance of sustainability for

both the present and the future (Haywood, 1988; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Schliiter, 1999; Telfer, 2002).

Tourism is a far-reaching agent of change, which brings both positive and negative impacts to the host communities in economic, social, cultural, and environmental domains (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1978). The newly “discovered” tourist destinations, most of which are in peripheral areas either in developing or developed nations, typically adopt tourism as a development tool (Blackman, *et al.*, 2004; Moscardo, 2005; Ryan, Zhang, & Deng, 2011; Vogt, *et al.*, 2008; Wall, 1999). They promote their cultures as commodities of difference, often with inadequate investment, to fulfill the needs of affluent and ‘authenticity-seeking’ tourists (Akyeampong, 2011; MacCannell, 1976). As development proceeds, they gradually realize that the economic benefits of tourism may not be as great as often thought, while social and environmental impacts of tourism are frequently detrimental (Barre & Jafari, 1997; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Cohen, 2011; Moscardo, 2008). Consequently, a development paradigm shift begins. Sustainable tourism has been proposed to improve the quality of life of the host community, to provide a high quality of experience for the visitors, and to maintain the quality of environment on which both the host community and the visitors depend (UNWTO, 1995). Indeed, more researchers have become aligned with the view that “tourism should be encouraged more for the fact that it may contribute to the well-being of local people in destination areas and less for the reason that it is good for the tourist industry *per se* .” (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 288)

There has been a growing realisation that sustainable tourism can be approached with a strong community emphasis (Haywood, 1988; Murphy, 1983, 1985; van der Duim, Peters, & Wearing, 2005). To sustain this industry, localised cooperation, trust, and networking are essential ingredients, which can be gained by appropriate tourism community relationships management (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Ap & Crompton, 1998). It is also argued that a host community that is positively disposed will enhance the tourist experience, contribute to the destinations attractiveness, and is critical for

its sustainability (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Fredline & Faulkner, 2003; Pearce, 1980). Additionally, ways should be developed to monitor and understand tourism impacts, and especially to minimize costs for the hosts (Ap, 1992; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Li, 2000; Perdue, Long, & Allen, 1987; Vargas-Sanchez, Plaza-Mejia, & Porras-Bueno, 2008). The importance of good tourism community relationships is also a priority on the list of global, national and local tourism research agendas (Vogt, *et al.*, 2008). For example, UNWTO (2010) stated that managing tourism community relationships at a regional level leads to efficient destination management and the improved sustainability and competitiveness of tourism.

Further, in many tourism areas, especially the peripheral destinations, the distinctive characteristics of the host residents as well as environmental components build attractive tourist experiences (Richards & Hall, 2000; Ryan, Scotland, & Montgomery, 1998; Urry, 1995). These communities, however, are also vulnerable to impacts from tourism activities (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Hence, management at a community level is essential for these kinds of locations.

1.2.2 Tourism community studies: Main issues

The importance of tourism community relationships has generated several research themes in the last three decades. These themes include the ways in which host communities view tourism, how much they welcome tourists, and what perceptions they hold of tourists and tourism impacts (Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1991; Perdue, *et al.*, 1987; Pizam, 1978; Ryan, Gu, & Fang, 2009; Vogt, *et al.*, 2008). The popularity of tourism community studies has been supported by Xiao and Smith's (2006b) bibliometric research of tourism publications from 1973-2003. Further, a recent report on the trends in tourism research confirmed the lasting interest in tourism community studies (Ballantyne, Packer, & Axelsen, 2009).

1.2.2.1 Tourism impacts on communities

Under conditions of rising affluence and more disposable time, more and more tourists travel to places outside their normal places of residence and work (Winter, *et*

al., 2009). Consequently, considerable impacts to host communities are seen. In tourism impacts studies, the most explored topics are: the impacts on the host community, the community's reaction to tourism, and how research can assist tourism planning and policy making.

(1) Evolution of studies of tourism impacts

The impacts studies have generally followed Jafari's (1990) plot of the journey of tourism studies as four platforms or phases. These platforms in order of appearance in the literature are advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy and knowledge-based platforms. In 2005, Jafari suggested a fifth platform of public outreach (Jafari, 2005).

Early work on perceived impacts, especially those in 1960s, tended to focus on the economic and positive effects of tourism (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1978), which can be described as "advocacy platform phase" in Jafari's (1990) approach. At that time, research concentrated on the obvious economic impacts with comparatively little consideration being given to the environmental and social impacts (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). In this period, scholars, mainly economists, conceived of tourism as a new force that could generate a multitude of beneficial effects, such as assisting the balance of payments, generating income, boosting employment and raising tax revenues. There is also a view that these benefits would extend to people's happiness and the nation's development.

In 1970s, the cautionary platform (Jafari, 1990, 2001) dominated. There was a noticeable shift towards a more balanced perspective incorporating a critical examination of the costs and the negative impacts of tourism. An increasing number of such studies adopted an environmental and, particularly, a social or cultural perspective. The potentially serious psychological, social and cultural effects of tourism were given prominence in the seminal works of Young's (1973) book *Tourism --Blessing or Blight*, Turner and Ash's (1975) work *The Golden Hordes*, Finney and Watson's (1975) volume *A New kind of Sugar: Tourism in the Pacific*, Farrel's (1977) study *The Social and Economic Impact of Tourism Impacts on Pacific*

Communities, Smith's (1977) edited volume *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, and de Kadt's (1979) contribution *Tourism: Passport to Development*. Mostly these scholars were anthropologists or sociologists and tended to view societies as being damaged by the force of modernization including tourism pressures. In particular, it was the tourism industry and tourists that had been accelerating this damage. The negative impacts of tourism found in these works included the modification of traditional cultures, increases in prostitution and crime, and pollution. Following the pioneering works mentioned above, more literature has proliferated in the last quarter of a century. However, much of the work has reinforced earlier insights and new breakthroughs in knowledge have seldom been achieved (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

The works on negative impacts resulted in a period of pessimism. Some scholars argued that the negative perceptions of impacts were overemphasized, and argued that such views need to be considered within the context of the overall contribution of tourism to a community (Cohen, 1978). Since these earlier period of tourism scholarship, tourism has grown in volume and diversity, and the impacts of tourism have become increasingly complex and contradictory. The early dichotomy of impacts study, either positive economic impacts or negative social impacts, seems no longer reasonable (Chen, 2007). More nuanced interpretations and rethinking about the impacts of tourism have been put forward (Wall, 1996). Alternatives have been actively sought to replace mass tourism and relieve the pressure caused by its tourism style. Impact studies have moved into the "adaptancy platform" (Jafari, 1990, 2001), where the research tends to be more objective, covering both positive and negative impacts in economic, social-cultural, and environmental domains (Allen, *et al.*, 1988; Wood, 1980).

The further development in the approaches to tourism impacts can be characterized as Jafari's (1990, 2001) fourth knowledge-based platform. In this category, tourism studies are more mature and take multi-disciplinary research approaches (Graburn & Jafari, 1991). Work in this style attempts to position itself on a scientific foundation

and, at the same time, maintain its bridges with other platforms. Research in this stage attempts to include systematic studies of tourism's structure, its place in the larger social-economic world; its functions at different levels, and the range of views on mobilizing and receiving tourism. The research tends to be more holistic. It regards tourism as a part of daily life, and it can differ in degree and its impacts even in the same community (Pearce & Moscardo, 1999; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Through incorporating knowledge from different disciplines, it builds a scientific body of knowledge on tourism and offers an ever increasing comprehensive understanding (Ap, 1992; Scott & Selwyn, 2010; Tao, 2006).

Jafari (2005) suggested one further platform, which he named as "public outreach". He argued that the time has come to turn the traditional one-way flow of knowledge within the discipline and its evolutionary processes into a two-way traffic by also exporting knowledge to other academic fields and to the world of practice. "We must stop looking inwards, talking to ourselves: 'privatization' of thoughts and actions, at best. Instead, we should turn our attention to building bridges of outreach: going further afield and becoming public (Jafari, 2005, p.5)." Under this platform, there is an increasing number of tourism impacts studies published in other journals, as well as considering how the research can better guide practice (Alaeddinoglu & Can, 2011; Pearce, 2005b; Wang & Wall, 2005).

(2) Types of impacts

Though widely accepted, procedures for investigating the impacts of tourism have yet to be established (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). The design of scales, which are commonly based on typology of impacts, has been an interest of many scholars. Some seminal works in this area include Pizam (1978), Allen *et al.* (1988) and other papers by the same authors (Allen, *et al.*, 1988; Long, Perdue, & Allen, 1990; Perdue, *et al.*, 1987). These studies identified a number of items by factor analysis from questionnaire based surveys. These earlier scales have been replicated or referred to by later studies (Andereck, *et al.*, 2005; Dyer, *et al.*, 2007), including the most wide-

referred tourism impacts measuring scales -- Lankford and Howard's (1993) multiple item tourism impact attitude scale (TIAS) and Ap and Crompton's (1998) comprehensive 35-item impact scale.

Besides the threefold grouping of tourism impacts from the content perspective, impacts can also be divided into direct, indirect and induced ones (Wall & Mathieson, 2006).

In reviewing the scales, it appears that the impacts of tourism are commonly divided into direct, indirect and induced ones from the content perspective. The most common classification, however, is to sort tourism impacts into three major categories in terms of content and view these as either positive or negative outcomes. Table 1.1 provides a summary of various impacts that are associated with tourism development.

Table 1. 1: Summary of tourism impacts on communities

Positive impacts	Negative impacts	Sources
Economic aspects		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New growth into declining traditional economies; • Provide foreign exchange, increase government revenue; • Provide employment opportunities; • Increase wealth and standard of living at different levels; • Enhance income security through economic diversity; • May provide another livelihood option. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Domination by external, and high economic leakage; • Job structure: low levels and seasonal for locals; • Inflation, land values, and increase local cost of living; • Over dependence on a single industry; • Marginalization of local entrepreneurs; • Change from traditional economies to market ones. 	<p>Allen, et al. (1988); Andereck, <i>et al.</i> (2005); Ap & Crompton (1998); Getz (1994); Lankford & Howard (1993); Mathieson & Wall (1982); Miao & Chen (2007); Pearce, <i>et al.</i> (1996); Stoeckl (2008); Ryan, <i>et al.</i> (1998); Tosun (2002); Wall (1999); Zhang & He (2008).</p>

Social-cultural aspects		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity to share culture and history, enhance cultural awareness and self-identity; • Maintenance or revitalization of traditional handicraft skills and customs; • Positive demonstration, inspire to higher education, new concepts, and so on; • Inter-cultural communication and appreciation; • Availability of social and recreational opportunities, infrastructure and service. • Empower women, and enhance gender equality. • Enhance social capital, improved knowledge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gradual erosion of traditional culture, beliefs, indigenous languages and lifestyles; • Staged and commercialized culture, losing its authenticity; • Cultural change, resulting in greater rifts between younger and older generation; • Increased number of immigration, conflicts between locals and non-locals; • Loss of community identity; • Inaccessibility to community and recreational facilities; • Crowd, crime, theft. Violence, drug, prostitution and other social problems. 	<p>Allen, et al. (1988); Ap & Crompton (1998); Cohen (1979b); Crick (1998); Dredge (2008); Gössling, <i>et al.</i> (2004); Lankford & Howard (1993); Li (2008); Mathieson & Wall (1982); Pearce (2008); Pearce, <i>et al.</i> (1996); Pizam (1978); Ryan & Gu (2009a); Ryan, <i>et al.</i> (1998); Smith (1977); Smith & Brent(2001); Tomljenovic & Faulkner (2000); Tosun (2002); Wall(1999); van de Berghe (1994); Wang (2006); Yamamura (2005); Yang & Wall (2008); UN&UNWTO (1999).</p>
Environmental/Physical aspects		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of wildlife parks and preservation of historical buildings; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trampling of vegetation; • Water/beach pollution; • Disrupting the feeding and breeding habits of wildlife; • Over capacity, destroy the ecosystem. 	<p>Ap & Crompton (1998); Lankford & Howard (1993); Lu & Xiao (2008); Mathieson & Wall (1982); Tang (2004); UN & UNWTO (1999).</p>

Sources: Sorted by the author

Though widely adopted, this threefold grouping is frequently criticized. There often appears to be overlap between the impact domains. Secondly, when the design of the study is considered, more criticism emerges. The three part approach in research was initiated to make for ease of measurement and assists comparisons (Lankford & Howard, 1993). It is, though, a kind of reductionism. Scholars and organizations have found that these concepts and scales, generated in western conditions and for professional convenience, do not necessary fit or capture the complex and diverse realities of real life (Chambers & Conway, 1991; WTO, 1995).

There is also criticism as to what should be included within each dimension, due to the artificial category boundaries (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). In reality, the boundaries between the categories are indistinct. Meanwhile, it is impossible for the human mind to embrace all dimensions at the same time (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). Further, in real society, people do not think as systematically or clearly as researchers by using three or four dimensions. People tend to assess tourism's impacts from their social representations of daily life and from the perspective of this sector's impacts on their livelihoods (Tang, 2004). More practically, people do not care about aggregate impacts; justifiably, they are more interested in their own well-being (Florida, 2008). And sometimes, it is not always necessary to know 'how much?' when often it is enough to know 'more' or 'less' or a trend (Chambers & Conway, 1991).

The research shortcomings mentioned above are largely due to a post-positivistic research paradigm where the generalization of results is deemed appropriate (Cave, Ryan, & Panakera, 2003). Incorporation of the hosts' real voices and logic of thinking, as well as critical theory is an alternative for future interpretive paradigmatic research (Xiao & Smith, 2006b).

1.2.2.2 Community reactions to tourism

Emerging studies have pointed out that tourism communities are not societies hit by "billiard balls" or touristic "missiles", in a passive and receiving manner (Picard, 1995;

Wood, 1980). Several researchers have argued that local residents are actually proactively and intricately involved in a wide variety of ways and influence the specific outcomes of tourism development (Cheong & Miller, 2000; Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Quinn, 2007). Mostly, tourists and investors are usually actively sought (Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). This section reviews the major schools of studies on community reactions to tourism.

(1) Factors that influencing reactions

Researchers are often interested in locating the reasons why things come into being. Tourism community researchers are not exceptions. Believing that tourism does not necessarily affect all parts of a region or all classes equally or similarly (Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995), a great number of studies have tried to identify the factors influencing the hosts' reactions to tourism development. Broadly speaking, the bulk of previous research can be summarized as the "intrinsic"/ "extrinsic" dichotomy (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). Here, the extrinsic dimension refers to variables that affect resident reactions at the macro level in the sense that they have a common impact on the community as a whole. The most researched extrinsic factors include stage of development, types of tourism/tourists, seasonality in patterns of activity, and cultural differences between tourists and residents. The intrinsic dimension recognizes that the host community is heterogeneous and perceptions of impacts may vary according to variations in the characteristics and circumstances of individuals (Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). The major issues are summarized in Table 1.2.

Table 1. 2: Selected literature on factors influencing community reaction to tourism

Influencing factors		Source
Extrinsic factors	Level of development	Allen <i>et al.</i> (1988); Cave, Ryan and Panakera (2003) ; Doxey (1975); Huang, Long and Wang (2008) ; Lepp (2008) ; Long, Perdue and Allen (1990); Madrigal (1993); Perdue <i>et al.</i> (1987); Ryan <i>et al.</i> (1998); Vargas-Sanchez <i>et al.</i> (2008); Wall (1996)
	Types of tourism/ tourists	Andereck and Vogt (2000); Nyaupane, Morais and Dowler (2006); Thyne, Lawson and Todd (2006)
	Seasonality in patterns of activity	Belisle and Hoy (1980), Sheldon and Var (1984)
Intrinsic factors	socioeconomic factors	Ap (1990); Belisle and Hoy (1980); Brougham and Butler (1981); Harrill and Potts (2003); Liu and Var (1986); McCool and Martin (1994); Pertrzelka, Krannich, Brehm, and Trentelman(2005); Pizam (1978); Sharma and Dyer (2009); Um and Crompton (1987); Zhang and He (2008); Zhang, Inbakaran, and Jackson (2006)
	Spatial factors	Belisle and Hoy (1980); Cottrell, Vaske, Shen and Ritter (2007); Harrill and Potts (2003); Jurowski and Gursoy (2004); Wall (1996); Ritchie and Inkari (2006); Sharma and Dyer (2009)
	Economic dependency/ involvement level	Andriotis (2005); Cottrell <i>et al.</i> (2007); Horn and Simmons (2002); Husbands (1989); Lankford and Howard (1993); McGehee and Andereck (2004); Pizam (1978); Ritchie and Inkari (2006)
	Community attachment	Harrill and Potts (2003); Gu and Ryan (2007, 2009); McCool and Martin (1994); Um and Crompton (1987); Williams <i>et al.</i> (1995)
	Interest groups/ Stakeholders	Andriotis (2005); Byrd, Bosley and Dronberger (2009); Byrd, Cardenas and Greenwood (2008); Jamal and Getz (1995); Murphy (1983); Tosun (2006)

Source: Sorted by the author

Among the intrinsic factors, socio-demographic factors were the most popular descriptors in early studies (Wang & Lu, 2005). However, they have mixed success in explaining variation in residents' perceptions (Lankford & Howard, 1993; Williams & Lawson, 2001). They are found to be ineffective or partly ineffective in consistently predicting community attitudes. As a result, some scholars, for example, Lankford and Howard (1993), Pearce (2005b), and Schweinsberg *et al.* (2012), suggested combining socio-demographic descriptors with psychological attributes.

The most widely used and cited extrinsic variable is the level of development, which is holistically described in Butler's (1980) life cycle model and corresponding applications and comments. More details relating to this approach are presented in the next section on theoretical issues.

Besides the widely researched factors mentioned above, other factors, such as the hosts' level of concern for the continued growth of their community; the degree to which the hosts are environmentally sensitive, and the extent to which the hosts use the same resource base as do tourists, also influence their reactions to tourism in the community (Gursoy, Chi, & Dyer, 2009).

(2) Distinctive reactions to tourism development

Frequently, the reactions to tourism have also been classified as belonging to different subgroups. Bjorkland and Philbrick (1972, as cited in Mathieson & Wall 1982, p. 139), for example, suggested four positions for summarising residents' reactions -- actively for, passively for, actively against and passively against. Dogan (1989, as cited in Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 54), for another example, identified five possible responses -- resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalization and adoption. Both studies suggested that individuals may change categories over time as issues and circumstances change.

Among the residents' reactions studies, two stage-based models, Doxey's (1975) Irritation Index Model and Butler's (1980) Tourist Areas Life Cycle (TALC) theory,

have gained the most popularity. They are commonly the major models produced and cited in tourism textbooks. Table 1.3 presents the main ideas of these two models.

Table 1. 3: Main ideas of the stage-based studies

Theory/Model	Representatives	Main ideas
Irritation Index model	Doxey (1975)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With the development of tourism, community reactions experience four stages, (a) euphoria (delight in contact); (b) apathy (increasing indifference with large numbers), (c) irritation (concern and annoyance over tourism’s negative impacts), (d) antagonism (covert or overt aggression to visitors)
Tourist areas life cycle theory	Butler (1980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The model is concerned with more general issues describing the evolution of tourist areas; • Tourist areas evolve through exploration, involvement, development, stagnation, decline or rejuvenation stages.

Source: Doxey (1975) and Butler (1980)

In the past three decades, a number of case studies, focusing on the analysis of tourism impacts and community reactions, have been conducted worldwide to test the applicability of these stage based models. A high proportion of them are at variance with and sometimes even conflict with the stage based models (Ryan & Gu, 2009b). For example, Gu and Ryan’s (2012) longitudinal study on Beijing Hutong tourism found that the passing of time brings greater tolerance to tourism. The contradictory findings are not surprising, because these stage-based models have simplified the complex relationships between tourism and the host communities (Ryan & Cooper, 2002). Wall and Mathieson (2006) questioned the inevitability of the sequence of attitudes moving from positive to negative in Doxey’s model. In fact, Doxey's (1975) case study of the Barbados and Niagara-on-the-Lake in Canada, where he developed

his irritation index model, revealed that relations between residents and tourists were rather harmonious. Butler's model, meanwhile, has either dealt primarily with resort towns or viewed places largely in isolation, divorced from exogenous economic and social forces that drive their development. Hence, it has arguably failed to address exogenous and endogenous factors that might affect the destination's development (Fan, Wall, & Mitchell, 2008). Indeed, simple linear models cannot capture the complexity of what actually occurs. In addition, the stage based models neglect the fact that residents living in tourist destinations are not always homogeneous, and may not all have similar reactions to tourism. Further, they do not specify the tourist numbers and time periods associated with each stage, which makes the stage classification a little subjective (Chambers, 2007). It is worth noting that while emerging case studies and some new thinking have challenged the stage based models, no clear replacement model or subsequent model exists.

(3) Reactions in the same community

It is widely recognized that tourism community relationships research helps sustainable planning (Ballantyne, *et al.*, 2009; Choi & Murray, 2010; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). Additionally, theories in planning studies gradually influence tourism community relationships study. One example is the adoption of stakeholder theory to analyse the different views and goals held by different groups, including residents, and different levels of government, or tourism businesses (Andriotis, 2005; Byrd, Bosley, & Dronberger, 2009; Byrd, Cardenas, & Greenwood, 2008; Gu & Ryan, 2012; Tosun, 2006; Yang, 2011; Yang & Wall, 2009). These studies revealed the heterogeneity among different interest groups. This position is in contrast to many earlier studies which assumed intra-group homogeneity across the tourism community. Earlier, a number of studies argued that tourists are heterogeneous (Cohen, 1972, 1979a; COTRI & PATA, 2010; Pizama, Jansen-Verbeke, & Steelc, 1997; Wearing, *et al.*, 2010) and subsequently suggested market segmentation (Chung, *et al.*, 2004; Kotler, 2006; Kotler, Haider, & Rein, 1993). However, the process of viewing communities as diversified and containing groups exhibiting different responses to

tourism has only developed recently (Dogan, 1989; Gu & Ryan, 2012; Gursoy, *et al.*, 2009; van der Duim, *et al.*, 2005). It is now suggested that subsections of residents in a location are made of coherent groups of individuals with common sets of views that distinguish them from other groups in the same community (Pearce, 2005b; Schweinsberg, *et al.*, 2012).

Indeed, the community is not a stable and homogeneous object, defined by territoriality or place. It is more a complex and sometimes fluid notion (Gursoy, *et al.*, 2009; Liepins, 2000). Due to uneven power distributions, the multiplicity of stakeholders who are involved, different degrees of experience with tourism, and other issues (Wall & Mathieson, 2006), tourism communities are diverse, containing heterogeneous groups with distinctive attitudes (Boyd & Singh, 2003; Pérez & Nadal, 2005; Schofield, 2011; Williams & Lawson, 2001). They are likely to judge their experiences in different lights and tend to hold multi-faceted views, even while living closely together (Mordue, 2005; Shin & Inoguchi, 2009; Waldren, 1997). Recent studies, including studies in peripheral communities where the society tends to be less diversified, have empirically demonstrated the heterogeneous reality of the community concept (Brida, Osti, & Barquet, 2010; Kibicho, 2008; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Schweinsberg, *et al.*, 2012) (see Table 1.4).

Table 1. 4: Selected research on the heterogeneity of the tourism community

Source	Attitude cluster names
Davis <i>et al.</i> (1988)	Lovers (20%); Haters (16%); In-betweeners (18%); Cautious romantics (21%); Love 'em for a reason (26%)
Evans (1993)	Lovers (20%); Haters (11%); Controlled (32%); Selfish (37%)
Pearce <i>et al.</i> (1996)	Negative economic impacts (20%); Moderates (44%); Negative environmental impacts (36%)
Ryan <i>et al.</i> (1998)	Moderate Enthusiasts (42.5%), Extreme Enthusiast (17.5%), Cautious Supporters (40%)
Fredline and Faulkner (2000)	Ambivalent supporter (cautious romantics) (29%), Haters (15%), Realists (24%), Lovers (23%), Concerned for a reason (9%)
Williams and Lawson (2001)	Lovers (23%); Cynics (10%); Taxpayers (25%); Innocents (20%)
Perez and Nadal (2005)	Development supporters (11%); Prudent developers (26%); Ambivalent and cautious (24%); Protectionists (20%); Alternative developers (18%)
Wang (2006)	Lovers (36.61%); Realists (20.83%); Ambivalent supporters (42.56%)
Kibicho (2008)	The operatives (56.25%); The opinion leaders (18.75%); The official leaders (25.0%)
Zhang and He (2008)	Positive supporters with overall perspective (34.0%); Ambivalent and rational supporters (32.3%); Positive but self-centred supporters (33.7%)
Gu and Ryan (2009)	Favourably (23%); Less critically (37%); Most critically (17%)
Brida, Osti, and Barquet (2010)	Environmental supporters (40%); development supporters (27%); protectionist (14%) and ambivalent (18%)
Schofield (2011)	Pro-tourism (47.6%); Anti-tourism (30.2%); Uncertain (22.2%)
Gu and Ryan (2011)	Did not name the groups, but found that attitudes changed with the growth of tourism in Beijing Hutong communities. Four different cluster groups existed in 2006 and 2008.

Sources: Sorted by the author

The segmentation analyses summarized in Table 1.4 identify groups of residents by their responses, and assist researchers in the development of more general theories related to everyday views (Pérez & Nadal, 2005). However, real progress in this field depends on a better understanding of the factors that underlie these segmentations. In tourist studies, Wearing *et al.* (2010) commented that typologies of tourists are widely criticized because of the failure to address a range of important social, cultural and environment considerations. Wearing *et al.*'s comment is also applicable to tourism community studies. Indeed, any attempt to characterize a tourism destination by the attitudes of its community needs to consider multiple voices and representations of segments of the community. These voices are the complex dynamic outcomes of power, contested identities and economic struggle (Burr, 1991). In this context, the cliché of the uniformly 'friendly locals' marketing slogan represents a particular glib promotional generalization (Pearce, 2005a). To synthesise, future research should not only recognise the heterogeneity within communities, but also investigate the reasons that lead to different attitudes and opinions towards new development strategies.

(4) Attitudes and intentions

There are two different concepts, attitudes and intentions in the vast literature on human responses to development and the future (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The inclusion of behavioural intentions as a cognitive construct adds insights into the readiness of local people to support ecotourism development (Lai & Nepal, 2006), even though most of the research is limited to attitude studies (Jackson & Inbakaran, 2006). Attitudes and intentions are not necessarily the same. For example, Lai and Nepal's (2006) research in Taiwan found that local people hold generally positive views of the measures necessary to achieve ecotourism. Nevertheless, their intentions to be engaged in tourism are much complex and mixed. In future studies, intentions, or preferences scales should be considered separately. This point, together with other points mentioned in this chapter, assist the approaches to be taken in this thesis.

1.2.2.3 Related theories on tourism community studies

While tourism development itself in the past decades has been rapid, theoretical and conceptual developments in studying these processes is modest (Carter & Beeton, 2008; Dann, *et al.*, 1988; Dann, 1999; Jackson & Inbakaran, 2006; Lankford & Howard, 1993; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Pearce, 1993; Xiao & Smith, 2006b). The paucity of theory applies to tourism community relationships research as well. The literature on tourism community relationships is oriented towards descriptive essays of cultural expressions and impacts brought to a community by tourism (Getz, 1986; Dann *et al.*, 1988; Carter *et al.*, 2001). In other words, studies on tourism community relationships are rarely conceived a macro-level, and have tended to operate at the micro-level of empirical studies particularly in the 1980s and 1990s. These studies were mainly exploratory in nature (Carter & Beeton, 2008). There have been occasional attempts to develop a theoretical paradigm to link the central concepts with some theories (Carter & Beeton, 2008; Husbands, 1989; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The material reported in Table 1.5 reviews a number of theories, some of which have originated in social science (e.g. sociology, psychology, geography, anthropology, and economics), while others have a more specific tourism origin.

Table 1. 5: Selected theories adopted in tourism community relationships studies

Theory/Model	Representatives	Main ideas
Social exchange theory	Ap (1990;1992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism development comes with benefits in exchange for costs, and people seek to maximize the rewards and minimize the costs experienced. • From a tourism perspective, an individual's attitudes toward tourism and subsequent level of support for its development are influenced by his or her evaluation of the cost-benefit balance.
Social capacity theory	Lone <i>et al.</i> (1990); Perdue (1999)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both positive and negative perception of tourism impacts increase with increasing levels of tourism development. • Residents' attitudes initially increase in favourability with increasing tourism development, but achieve a threshold level of development beyond which attitudes become less favourable.
Social representation theory	Pearce <i>et al.</i> (1991, 1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The way we view tourism, that is, our system of knowledge or social representation of it, affects the way we perceive and respond to impacts. • Tourism attitudes are a part of a larger community representation of the way industries and important social phenomena are perceived. These broad social attitudes are fuelled by the media as well as by everyday conversation.
Relative deprivation theory	Murphy (1985); Stouffer <i>et al.</i> (1949); Seaton (1996)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The theory of relative deprivation is based on the concept that persons may feel deprived of some desirable thing relative to their own past, other persons or groups, or some other social category. • It has been used to explain acculturation, 'demonstration effects', and social identity studies

		in tourism community studies.
Place attachment theory	Um & Crompton (1987); Gu & Ryan, (2008, 2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place attachment is a positive emotional connection with familiar locations such as the home or neighbourhood. It is correlated with length of residence in the community, features social and physical sub-dimensions which lead to action, both at the individual and collective levels.
Impact-attitude Model	Smith (1978; 2001)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In cross-cultural host-tourist relations, hosts tend to be ignored with the evolution of the tourist type being the main focus from explorer, elite, off-beat to unusual, incipient mass, and finally to mass, even charter; • The volume of tourists has an influence on community reactions, local economy and culture development, and political decision-making at local level.
Sustainable livelihood framework	Scoones (1998); Ashley (2000); Tao & Wall (2009)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is a people-centred paradigm, emphasizing inherent capacities and knowledge, and focusing on community level development; • Real life is multi-sectoral. Tourism may be a development option. If tourism is introduced to a community, it needs to fit into an existing system;
Residents' satisfaction model	Chon (1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It borrows ideas from customer satisfaction models to analyse resident satisfaction to tourism development in their communities.

Source: Sorted by the author

Doxey's Irritation Index and Butler's TALC model can also be regarded as applicable theories which are adopted by many researchers. As the previous section has briefly introduced the relevant information, no attempt will be made here to review that work again.

In any review of these adopted theories, a key question arises. Is this specific adopted theory useful both analytically, to generate insight and hypotheses for research, and practically, as a focus and tool for improving well-being at different levels? In its simplest sense, is this specific theory normative and practical enough (Chambers & Conway, 1991)? A succinct appraisal, including both contributions and limitations will be undertaken for social exchange theory as an example. The appraisal offers insights for selecting an appropriate theoretical basis for this thesis.

Social exchange theory, which seeks to understand and predict the behaviour of the interaction situation, and involves the trading and sharing of resources (material, social or psychological) between individuals and groups (Ap, 1990), has gained great popularity and support (Andereck & Vogt, 2000; Ap, 1990; Choi & Murray, 2010; Getz, 1994; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Lu, *et al.*, 2008; Madrigal, 1993; Perdue, *et al.*, 1987; Vargas-Sanchez, *et al.*, 2008). Reservations about this theory's suitability to tourism community studies, however, are also evident (Andereck, *et al.*, 2005; Carter & Beeton, 2008; Jurowski & Gursoy, 2004; Long, *et al.*, 1990; McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). Pearce *et al.* (1996) identified three fundamental, interrelated problems with the nature of social exchange theory. Firstly, in real-world decisions, human do not necessarily think systematically as an information processor. In most situations, they use labels and pre-existing knowledge in decision making and thinking. Secondly, humans are heterogeneous. They are different from researchers and scientists. Even in the same community under study, they are not a single group. The inherent diversity within the community should be recognized (Pertrzelka, *et al.*, 2005). Thirdly, humans think in a context and have a history. They should not be studied in a vacuum, as separated and isolated units. In summary, social exchange theory is not consistent with the way people think in the real world (Pearce, 2009a; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996).

Similarly, Carter and Beeton (2008) criticized the applicability of social exchange theory by analysing the four assumptions. These assumptions are: (1) Change in traditions are observable and hence able to be evaluated; (2) Residents in communities

are in a (power) position to withdraw, adapt or substitute a cultural tradition as an item of trade; and (3) Either the cultural traditions being traded (changed) are not linked to others, or (4) The links between the traded cultural tradition and others are known, and hence 'rational' choice, including consideration of flow-on effects, is possible. On analysis of the assumptions, Carter and Beeton doubted that all the four assumptions can be satisfied in a specific case. Hence, they reported that, while the adaptation of social exchange theory might suggest further avenues for research its immediate application is difficult.

More than four decades ago, Tunnell (1977) suggested three dimensions to make research richer. These three dimensions which should be simultaneously considered are "natural behaviour, natural setting, and natural treatment (p.437)". To apply Tunnell's suggestions to a tourism research context, it means that the research design and adopted theory should be able to respond to local communities and be consistent with the real life. A similar point was offered by Cohen (1979b). Cohen advised that good tourism research should be emic, contextual, processual and longitudinal, and thus represent real life better. A more recent and relevant example is Carter and Beeton's (2008) study on the cultural change and tourism in the Asia Pacific regions, which demonstrated the importance of explaining changes in response to a perturbation such as tourism at the micro/community level. The common emphasis of the three examples mentioned above is the significance of better representation of the lived experience in tourism community studies. This representation begins with the choice of approach. An alternative may lie in adopting some mainstream social-psychology theories and analysis, which adhere to the themes reviewed and reflect closely to human beings' understanding in real life and social change processes. This thesis chooses social representation theories. The careful justification of this choice will be presented in more detail subsequently (in chapter 2) but this choice depends in part and arises from the limitations of the existing models and theories reviewed here.

1.2.2.4 Related methods on tourism community studies

Studies in tourism community relationships can be divided into two groups according to the way they describe their findings (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). This first group is characterised by ‘case studies’ involving ethnographic and qualitative approaches in disparate communities (Cave, *et al.*, 2003; Xiao & Smith, 2006a). The other group is based on survey work, adopting and/or adapting measuring scales developed by Ap and Crompton (1998), Lankford and Howard (1993) and other researchers.

The “case studies” research approach originates from anthropology and sociology, especially cultural anthropology. These case studies largely adopt participant observation and in-depth interviews as their research methods. Typically such work provides an elaborate account of a relatively small area or social microcosm. When analysing the data, researchers greatly value the meaning behind the observed phenomena, with an attempt to work from the locals’ points of views. They tend to be committed to cultural interpretation (Sandiford & Ap, 1998). A large proportion of these studies take islands, mountainous areas, indigenous areas, and developing countries as research sites (Ashley, 2000; Fan, *et al.*, 2008; Harrill & Potts, 2003; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Tosun, 2002; Wall, 1996). Compared with survey based studies, case studies are acknowledged as providing a detailed view of a mini group or society, yet they are criticized for their lack of representativeness and replicability (Yin, 2009).

The survey based studies have measured different variables and select to employ standardized measurement of residents’ attitudes toward tourism development (Lankford & Howard, 1993). Survey based studies are easy to administer and simple to code, and their results are easy to analyse with sophisticated techniques (Jenkins, 1999). They also offer data for ready comparisons across settings. However, their accuracy and validity, or representation can be a problem for three reasons: 1) to the degree that culture is implicit, respondents may not be fully aware of their values and ideologies and cannot report them accurately; 2) the method itself has a biasing

feature – different respondents can give somewhat different understandings of the same concepts (Trice & Beyer, 1993, as cited in Sandiford & Ap, 1998); 3) the capture of the way respondents view tourism, its development and impacts are imposed by the scale, rather than being informed by local communities (Pearce, *et al.* 1996).

It seems that neither group of studies is fully satisfactory in providing valid results. This thesis, alternatively, will adopt a multi-method integration of research approaches to maximise the advantage of the existing styles of work.

1.2.3 The state of knowledge

By reviewing the relevant literature, four clear implications concerning the present state of knowledge on tourism community studies can be identified. Firstly, there is a paucity of theoretical and methodological guidelines or frameworks. Given the early predominance of the disciplinary approach of economics, positivist methods took hold in tourism and overshadowed the contribution of other social sciences (Ryan, 1997, as cited in Tribe & Airey, 2007). Tribe and Airey (2007) observed that the methodological approaches and research techniques were far from complete. Similarly, journal editors Franklin and Crang (2001, p.19) encouraged contributors to "provide an alternative to the existing positivist, managerially oriented material which predominates in current literature on tourism". Research in this alternative area is arguably dominated by case studies. Building on these comments and approaches, the present research adopts social representations theory. A consideration of this approach as a major organiser of this thesis and a potentially superior conceptual tool for the work in Tibet will be considered in more detail in Chapter 2.

Secondly, there is a strong need to incorporate the contextual and wider issues around tourism development. When defining the cutting-edge research in tourism, Chambers (2007) put forward three main issues, two of which are about cultural and historical contingency. In other words, a good study should be contextually sensitive. The linkages between tourism and economic, social, and political development in the

regions should not be neglected. These linkages offer good opportunities to learn about the society by 'thinking through tourism' (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Scott & Selwyn, 2010), as tourism is contextualized by both specific location and wider issues (Gu & Ryan, 2012; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

The review of the research in tourism community studies found that contradictory research results arise from time to time. Ryan and Gu (2009b) attributed the contradiction to the lack of specification of the research context. Indeed, all communities are distinctive settings with their individual characteristics. In addition, they are not static or isolated but in a continuous state of flux (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Wu & Pearce, 2012b). Recent studies have demonstrated that the wider forces from economic, social, and cultural perspectives have repercussions for tourism (Moscardo, 2011; Nyaupane & Timothy, 2010; Wearing, *et al.*, 2010; Winter, 2007). Scott and Selwyn (2010) stated that to some extent, tourism is an agent of change that represents a microcosm of wider realities. The incorporation of the wider issues, instead of seeing tourism in isolation, also reflects Fredline and Faulkner's (2003) observation that the real progress in this area requires a more thorough investigation of the contextual issues.

In addition, there is a skewed research orientation in terms of temporal scales. Most of the current research is retrospective, focusing on the past and the challenging and complex present. Only occasionally is it future oriented. This research argues that, at least equal time, perhaps more time, ought to be given to forward looking studies. After all, the future is open and filled with opportunities and challenges.

The imbalance between retrospective studies and future oriented studies is partly due to our being unaccustomed to thinking about the future (Hicks, 1996b; Slaughter, 1997; Tonn, Hemrick, & Conrad, 2006). Saying something sensible about future requires a deep understanding of the past and present (Slaughter, 1997). This deficiency has been identified by Wall and Mathieson (2006), but it is worth stressing here again. In Wall and Mathieson's view, most of the tourism studies only examine

the consequences and impacts of tourism after they have occurred, rather than checking the phenomena which have caused the changes. However, the managers and policy-makers are more interested in future-oriented research, because forward-looking research helps to move beyond passive reflection to the assessment of preferred futures as a basis for planning and action. Hence, forward looking research, like predictions of possible impacts, is more practically relevant and deserves special academic interest in the future.

A further deficiency identified in the literature review material is the lack of emic research, which has resulted from the exclusion of the voice the “other” (van der Duim, *et al.*, 2005). This deficiency produces a “crisis of representation” (Marcus & Fischer, 1999). The gaze of the researcher may be particularly ill-directed when working in an unfamiliar area (Faulkner, 2001; Ryan, 2001; Tribe & Airey, 2007). Problems arise due to the researchers’ person, position, rules, ends and ideology forces, thus exaggerating the difficulties already existing simply due to being an outsider as a researcher (Tribe, 2006). The initial inequalities between researchers and local informants affect the extent to which our knowledge claims correspond to the reality of those researched (Liebenberg, 2009; Marcus & Fischer, 1999; Pink, 2007). To settle this issue, it is important to remember to examine the perspective of those being observed rather than test out a priori ideas of the researcher (Dickson & Robbins, 2007). To put these ideas into practice, emic research approach offers technical guidance (Cohen, 1979b; Maoz & Bekerman, 2010; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). As opposed to an etic approach, an emic approach recognizes the complexities of community representations of the phenomenon and the role of social networks in their development, and thus relies more on the community itself to spontaneously generate its own constructs (Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). In an emic approach, it is vital for researchers to incorporate local/indigenous knowledge, to put themselves in the informants’ shoes, and ask questions that are related, understandable and meaningful to the research participants. Only in this way, some under- and untold truth can be

discovered and shared. The origins and power of an emic approach to research in this area is reviewed in more detail when considering the methodology issues in Chapter 2.

1.3 Research in Tourism Futures

This section of the literature review considers current futures research. It explores the main issues in future studies and their application to tourism research. Special attention is paid to methodological issues and work of interest to the current study.

1.3.1 Why future studies?

Tomorrow's success is today's strategy. The point of social foresight has been understood millennia ago when stone walls were erected, at huge expense, to protect cities against possible future threats and when granaries were constructed to provide insurance against famine. Yet, modern futures studies were only developed during WWII, and first carried out by US Army (Bell, 2003; Masini, 2006). Future oriented thinking is in a great demand, because,

“We can do nothing to change the past, but we have enormous power to shape the future. Once we grasp that essential insight, we recognize our responsibility and capability for building our dreams of tomorrow and avoiding our nightmares. ...We will find the strength and wisdom needed to create a better future world.”

—Edward Cornish, Founder, World Future Society (2009)

Indeed, the future is an area where changes can not only be forecasted and dreamt of, but also chosen and built upon in the present (Masini, 2002). The main goal of studying the future is to make it better by looking ahead. The work of future studies is not an end to itself, but an integral part of strategic planning, including planning in tourism (Moscardo, Faulkner, & Laws, 2001). It provides an essential foundation for planning and policy formulation in many life domains. Quite clearly, guiding images of the future have a crucial role to play in giving the society a positive sense of direction (Hicks, 1996b). Future studies help people clarify their hopes and fears about the future and move beyond passive forecasting to the generation of preferred

futures as a basis for planning and action. Trends, forecasts, and ideas about the future stimulate an awareness of opportunities and, further, direct action to seize these opportunities.

Future studies are not only helpful at the individual level, but also at the national and international level. A national foresight strategy can provide countries and regions with a sense of purpose and direction, a necessary warning function and a framework in which a host of wealth-creating and problem-solving activities can be located. It also offers people-particularly the young generation-the hope that the world will be better, though full of challenges (RGoB, 1999; Slaughter, 1997).

It is worth noting that the values of future studies are not just about whether or not the predicted outcomes are realized. Sometimes, the good forecast might be the one that never eventuates (Moscardo, *et al.*, 2001), for example, the Y2K computer problems, the over capacity of tourists in some sites, and the declining/rejuvenation of maturing destinations.

1.3.2 Future studies in tourism

An early paper titled *Can futures research contribute to tourism policy?* (van Doorn, 1982) examined the interrelationships between planning, policy making and forecasting. It inspired a rich vein of tourism futures research, especially at the turn of the century (Keller & Bieger, 1999; Moscardo, *et al.*, 2001). For example, books about tourism in the future appeared (Faulkner, Moscardo, & Laws, 2001). As another example, “Planning for the future, Learning from the past: Contemporary development in tourism, travel and hospitality” was the specific theme of the 4th International Tourism Conference (University of the Eagaen, 2009). A recent example is that some well-established scholars co-edited a book about the future vision of tourism research in 2020 (Pearce & Butler, 2010).

Generally speaking, research in tourism futures can be classified into three categories. One is related to tourist behaviour (Weiermair & Mathies, 2004; Yeoman, Brass, & McMahon-Beattie, 2007a), including tourist demand forecasting, its accuracy

(Calantone, Benedetto, & Bojamic, 1987; Kulendran & King, 1997; Sheldon & Var, 1985; Song & Li, 2008; UNWTO, 1997), and the arrival of new/special tourism/ tourists (Dowling & Getz, 2001; Poon, 2002). The majority of studies in this category are concerned with econometric modeling/forecasting (Song & Li, 2008; Witt & Witt, 1995). The most widely adopted methods are time-series models, econometric models, computer modeling, Delphi methods, and scenario planning (WFS, 2009). Another category of futures research in tourism is more general. It focuses on tourism destinations, embracing tourism planning and development at global, national or regional levels (Butler, 2009; Haywood, 1988; Yong, *et al.*, 1989). This category of research is the work of interest to the current study. Thirdly, there is an ongoing interest in tourism future studies. For example, studies on information technologies and future tourism development are emerging. These studies are conducted to ensure tourism destinations are well prepared to embrace the new economy (Buhalis & Law, 2008; Gretzel, Fesenmaier, & O' Leary, 2006; Gretzel, *et al.*, 2004; Mahmood, Ricci, & Ventutini, 2010).

Since tourism was recognized as a community industry (Murphy, 1983), responsible/ sustainable tourism has been popular in research (Haywood, 1988), as well as the ideal images and best practices for future tourism community management (Joppe, 1996; Moscardo, 2008; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Hawkins (1993) reported 19 major issues identified by international tourism policy makers. As many as five issues are about tourism and communities (as cited in Pearce *et al.*, 1996).

In terms of research methods, much of the recent research employs traditional qualitative methods, such as interviews and Delphi techniques, which are good at examining the broader social-cultural, economic, technological and environmental factors into account (Moscardo, *et al.*, 2001). As a result, this category of research is more concerned with producing long-term predictions.

1.3.3 Future studies: Related methods

Methods for future research have grown both in variety and rigor (Benckendroff,

2008; Song & Li, 2008). Indeed, the scientific, scholarly, and rhetorical methods of any discipline in the humanities, social sciences, and the sciences might be – and sometimes are- used by futurists. The three most frequently used methods in future studies are forecasting, the Delphi technique, and the scenario technique (Bell, 2003; Masini, 2001). Other popular methods include simulation and gaming, strategic early warning, and creativity (brainstorm) (Schwarz, 2008). A succinct account of these methods is provided in the following section. The purpose of this review is to consider which approach can be adapted for studies in this thesis.

(1) Quantitative forecasting

The aim of quantitative forecasting, especially in an organizational context, is to help decision makers achieve the best possible decision about future events. The method of quantitative forecasting relies primarily on the technique of extrapolating data and trends (Schwarz, 2008). The basic assumption is that the past is the prologue for the future, assuming that the environment of an organization will not change significantly.

This method has been widely used for tourism forecasting, especially for demand forecasting (Kulendran & Wong, 2009; Song & Li, 2008). It does, however, depend on high quality, readily available and rich data sources.

(2) Delphi technique

The Delphi technique is a spin-off of defence research. It was originally developed to improve the use of expert opinion in policy-making (Rowe & Wright, 1999). The core of the Delphi technique is that a pool of experts deals with a certain problem that lies in the future. During this process, the experts do not have any contact with each other; their opinions are obtained by questionnaires (Yong, Keng, & Leng, 1989). Through assessing the responses, a consensus between the varying opinions will be achieved.

In the last 30 years, there has been increasing applications of the Delphi technique to tourism research (Donohoe & Needham, 2009). Studies related to service quality, destination management and regional planning and development have been

undertaken with this technique (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006; Lee & King, 2009; Liggett, *et al.*, 2011; Miller, 2001; Moutinho & Witt, 1995). Delphi techniques do, however, require easy access to the participants who are willing to persist across the phases of the research. The approach is not easy to apply to ethnic remote communities unused to these research demands.

(3) Scenario planning

The development of the scenario technique reaches back to the 1950s. Scenarios are stories, about possible and/or alternative futures, and incorporating human diversity. They contain visions as well as uncertainty (Heemskerk, 2003). Scenarios can paint a vivid picture that helps to visualize possible futures and show the way to prepare effectively for minimizing future risks and seizing opportunities (WFS, 2009).

By evaluation of the past, discussion of the future, and considerations of actions that might help or reach certain outcomes, scenario planning incorporates our vision into future development. It considers not just one future outcome but a range of alternative possibilities for the future. It is inextricably linked to forecasting (Gössling & Scott, 2012), and especially fits long-term forecasting in an uncertain environment (Bell, 2003).

In the 1970s, Royal Dutch/Shell developed the scenario technique into what is nowadays known as scenario planning. It connected the scenario technique with strategic planning, and successfully dealt with two energy crises in 1973 and 1990s (Heemskerk, 2003). The main aim of scenarios is to identify existing trends and key uncertainties, which are later combined in pictures of the future. These pictures cover generically different futures rather than variations of one of them.

Royal Dutch's success has inspired many leading companies, like Nokia, Procter & Gamble, and Philips to use scenario planning as future thinking. It has also received continuously growing attention and is now an integral part of preparing for uncertain futures across a range of major global issues by a diverse of organisations and scholars, for example energy (e.g. IEA, 2011), demography (e.g. UN, 2012),

economic development (e.g. IMF, 2012), climate change (e.g. IPCC, 2007), technology (e.g. Rockefeller Foundation, 2010), biodiversity and ecosystem change (e.g. Hassan, Scholes, & Neville, 2005; Leadley *et al.*, 2010), transportation and mobility (e.g. Schäfer & Victor, 2000), agriculture and food production (e.g. Godfray *et al.*, 2010) and water security (Cosgrove & Cosgrove, 2012) (as cited in Gössling & Scott, 2012). However, scenario planning's adoption in tourism future research is less widely seen (Gössling & Scott, 2012).

Compared with other forecasting methods, scenario planning is more complex. Careful design and implementation is necessary. The directions for improvement include: be more strongly integrated into strategic planning, be more adaptable for specific needs, be kept simple, be less time-consuming, be less academic and easier to integrate and implement into practical processes (Schwarz, 2008).

1.3.4 The state of knowledge

Tourism future studies are emerging, but the efforts are unevenly distributed across research topics. Some researchers have reviewed the global/regional/industrial drivers for great changes and the associated opportunities and challenges. They further provided implications for destination management (Aramberri, 2009; Dwyer, *et al.*, 2009; U. Gretzel, *et al.*, 2006). Others have visited the history of tourism development and provided insights for future development (Faulkner, *et al.*, 2001; Pearce, Benckendorff, & Johnstone, 2001; Prideaux, 2001; Walton, 2009). An interest has also developed in developing special tourism and the exploration of the futures of these forms, e.g. sport tourism (Weed, 2009), wine tourism (Dowling & Getz, 2001), and community-based tourism (Rocharungsat, 2005). Most of the studies offer general statements about the future, and have not explored specific issues (Pearce & Butler, 2010). Few articles have solely focused on tourism futures (Dwyer, *et al.*, 2009), and the application of the ideas to studies on tourism community futures from the hosts' perspectives is yet to be developed.

When building the vision for future studies, the futurist Masini (2002) suggested that the direction of future studies should be humanistic-oriented. That is, centred on human beings and based on people's decisions and their social constructions of the world. In an age of homogenization of culture, and marginalization of the ethnic groups caused by globalization, this proposition is worth special consideration.

When tourism community future studies are concerned, the dilemmas caused by pragmatism are evident. Both researchers and practitioners emphasize the importance of the host community and community participation, but often appear to bypass the process of fully accessing local views (Frank, 2006; IFAD, 2007; Simpson, Wood, & Daws, 2003). Arguably, therefore, researchers and practitioners' understanding of the hosts and their indigenous culture is limited (Amuquandoh, 2010; Erb, 2000; Wu & Pearce, 2012b). Better knowledge usually means better policy making. Before undertaking policy and planning decisions, the community's perceptions and preferences deserve to be documented and considered.

1.4 Tourism Research and Youth: The Missing Hosts

With research on youth turning from clinical studies to more diversified topics, the social status and multi-roles of youth have gradually been acknowledged (Barber, 2009; Eckersley, 1999; Frank, 2006; Jentsch & Shucksmith, 2003; UNESCO, 2004, 2009a). In this section, the general youth studies are reviewed before exploring the Chinese contexts. The limited studies on the "forgotten half" – young hosts, are considered.

1.4.1 Youth: Different concepts in the West and China

Diverse definitions of youth are firstly reviewed before examining young cohorts and research on this group in China. "Post 80s", which is a Chinese concept for youth, is presented, and related studies are considered.

1.4.1.1 Definition of youth and related concepts in western culture

This thesis is most interested in the cohort who are older than 18 but younger than 30,

because people of this age group have gained civil rights and are thus eligible for special treatment under the law and throughout the society. There are several concepts for labelling this cohort, for example youth, Gen Y, late adolescents, young adulthood, and emerging adulthood. Terms, like adolescent, teenager and child, though sometimes interchanged with youth, are more widely used to represent the younger cohort under 18.

Among the similar concepts, *youth*, is perhaps the most general, but also remains an ambiguous term. It represents the time of life between childhood and adulthood (maturity). However, different countries and fields of study vary in determining the relevant age span (Xi, 2005). For example, the China National Bureau of Statistics defines youth as those who are 15-29 years old, while the United Nations adopts another age span (15- 24 years old), and the Danish Youth Council prolongs youth to 34 years old. The disagreement in the definition is understandable, since maturity is an essential criterion for most of definitions. However, an individual's actual maturity is influenced by many issues, and may not correspond to their chronological age. Meanwhile, the concept of youth is often used to represent a state of mind, a particular mindset of attitude that is related to being young (Konopka, 1973).

Gen Y, the abbreviation for Generation Y, is another popular concept representing this cohort. It is widely employed in the Western world (Goldgen, 2004; Sullivan & Heitmeyer, 2008; Wolburg & Pokrywczynski, 2001). It describes the demographic cohort following Generation X. It is also named as “Millennial Generation” (Hooper, 2007; Moore & College, 2005), “Echo Boomers” (Brooks, 2005; Mazur, 2007), and “N-Generation” (Park, *et al.*, 2009). The definition of Gen Y faces the same issue as that of youth. Due to different social, cultural background in different countries, there are no precise dates for when Gen Y begins and ends (Goldgen, 2004; Martin & Turley, 2004; Sullivan & Heitmeyer, 2008).

Besides youth and Gen Y, there are some other terms representing this cohort (roughly aged 18-30). For example, *late adolescence* is employed to represent those in their late teens and 20s. *Young adulthood* is also employed to label from preteens to

age 40. *Emerging adulthood* is the group of people somewhere in between adolescents and being adult. It refers to people in their late teens and mid- to late 20s (Arnett, 2000a, 2004). The age span of emerging adulthood covers the same age group of interest to this study. Interestingly, the proponents of this concept cautioned that emerging adulthood may not be a universal concept, but culturally constructed (Arnett, 2000a; Badger, Nelson, & Barry, 2006; Cheah, Trinder, & Gokavi, 2010). Indeed, what may be a global phenomenon of emerging adulthood will take different forms and meanings in relation to economic, political, and historical differences (Rosenberger, 2007). In summary, the concepts developed by Western researchers may not fully be applicable in the Chinese context, especially in the peripheral areas (Badger, *et al.*, 2006; Nelson & Chen, 2007). In this sense, a more local Chinese approach may be an alternative.

1.4.1.2 Youth in China: “Post 80s” in transition

Youth study in China can be traced back to early 20th century. Such studies have been growing rapidly after the Opening Reform in 1978 (Chen, 2009). At the present time, the potential leaders for social and economic development in the near future (next 5-10 years) are “Post 80s” youth (Yahoo, 2010).

As suggested already, Western concepts and terms do not always translate clearly or readily into Chinese contexts (Buckley, *et al.*, 2008; Li, 2008). In this study, “Post 80s”, a local concept, is adopted and relevant research is reviewed.

“Post 80s” youth is the literally translation of “80 *hou*” in Mandarin. It represents those who were born in 1980s and were 19-29 years old in 2010 when the field trip for this study was conducted. They share a similar age span with “Gen Y” and other youth concepts used in Western countries. Due to the ambiguity and cultural issues (see 1.4.1.1), this study takes “Post 80s” youth, a local Chinese concept, rather than any of the youth concepts widely used in the Western research.

According to Huang *et al.*'s (2009) review work on “Post 80s” youth, the definition of “Post 80s” youth has changed a lot since it was first outlined 2001. At that time, they

represented the young poets born in 1980s, who were active in online communities. In 2003, the meaning of “Post 80s” was transferred to stand for the young writers born in 1980s, created and packaged by the commercial world. The distinctive characteristics of the “young writers” attracted *Time Asia*’s attention, which drew an analogy between this group and the “Lost Generation” in 1960s in US (TIME Asia, 2004). Nowadays, “Post 80s” is a daily concept in Chinese society, representing all youth born in 1980s, 193.9 million in number (NBS, 2009).

Normally, it is believed that age is not the best marker of groups (Arnett, 2000a) and it is imprecise to divide and label a group of people by the time they were born (Zhuzi, 2004). Certainly, this group has attracted wide attention. Searching on “google.com.cn”, there were 106 million related pages popping up in 0.18 seconds on 11th, July, 2011. Further, “Post 80s” youth’s related social and economic issues were one of the hottest topics during NPC (National People's Congress) and CPPCC (National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference) 2010, the most prestigious annual conferences in China discussing nationally important issues (People net, 2010b). As well as political attention, movies and television shows concerning “Post 80s” issues are popular within China.

Looking at the future, “Post 80s” youth is a special group. They are not a natural extension of former generations. They were brought up under China’s dramatic social and economic changes perhaps unparalleled in human history, with roots in the 1978 reforms (Moore & College, 2005; Taylor, 2008). They are the first cohort in Chinese history who have spent their whole life in a market economy (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004), and arguably have formed profoundly different psychological and sociological characteristics. To conclude, “Post 80s” youth are of special meaning in current China as well as for its future (Deng, Yang, & Li, 2009). The term “Post 80s” will be used throughout the thesis as a defining concept for youth in the studies of tourism community futures in the Tibetan context.

1.4.1.3 Images/Characteristics of “Post 80s”: Myths and reality

In adopting the term “Post 80s” for this thesis, it is necessary to consider the connotations and diverse attributors surrounding the label. “Post 80s” in China is seen as a paradoxical group. Negative views of this cohort prevail, especially in popular media and writings. For example, *Time Asia* regarded them as the “Lost Generation” in China (TIME Asia, 2004). They have been criticized for their individuality, lack of beliefs and idols, and their lack of responsibility (Moore & College, 2005; Zhuzi, 2004). Most of the criticism can be attributed to the myth that they are the spoiled products of “one child” policy (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004). However, evidence exists that the “one-child” policy has been enforced less stringently in the rural and ethnic areas (Rosenberg & Jing, 1996). As a result, a large proportion of “Post 80s” have siblings.

It is interesting to note that the attitudes towards “Post 80s” have been changing, especially since 2008, a year full of memorable events in China. Their performance during the 8.0-magnitude “5/12” earthquake in Southwest China, and the Olympic Games in Beijing, won public respect. For example, they were honored as “Bird’s nest (China’s national stadium) generation”, and “New citizens of China” by the Korean media, for their patriotism, civilized behaviour, voluntary spirit and social responsibility (Mu, 2009).

In research areas, studies about “Post 80s” as a group and studies from sociology and management perspectives are emerging (Huang, *et al.*, 2009). The main areas of interest include: group characteristics (their values and whether they are lost generation or not), causes of their group characteristic, consuming behavior, their role as a cultural phenomenon, the group’s social interaction, and their career development (Huang, *et al.*, 2009).

It can be suggested that much existing research disproportionately focuses on the upwardly mobile urban “Post 80s” youth. These youth have considerable academic and financial resources. Their after-high school path has been reduced to a routine:

getting into the best college their grades and finances can afford, and then, perhaps after a graduate degree, starting to climb up the career ladder. The reality is that the majority of the “Post 80s” youth in China are originally from rural areas (two thirds of Chinese, 900 million in number, live in rural areas), where the social, cultural and economic environment is remarkably different from cities due to the long-standing urban-rural dual structure (Chen & Wang, 2006; Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Ryan & Gu, 2009b; Wen, 2005; Zhang, 2005). Further, the situation in rural/ethnic areas is not homogenous either. Rural “Post 80s” youth fall into three categories based on their life experience after finishing the 9-year compulsory education. The first group is considered to be the luckiest. They study hard and pass the competitive national wide college entrance examination. Then they have the chance to go to colleges/universities in the cities. They finish with a good job and settle down in cities. The second group leaves for cities after the 9-year compulsory education. They work there temporarily or seasonally as peasant workers and do what urban residents are unwilling to do, e.g., jobs in the construction industry, the hospitality industry, and other physical-demanding sectors (Guo & Chu, 2004; Zhang, 2005). The last group stays in rural areas like their parents did. Some of them may be in search of a job in cities in the near future. Compared with their urban counterparts, opportunities for rural “Post 80s” youth are limited. Due to the low college entrance rate (24% in 2009) and lack of adult education opportunities (People net, 2010a), most of the “Post 80s” in rural or West China are non-college youth. As a result, they always face the pressure to enter the workplace and find their livelihoods. These contextual considerations are important in studying the youth in Tibet and act as a reminder that “Post 80s” has substantial local variation.

Just as the emerging adults in US are diverse (Arnett, 2007; Tanner & Arnett, 2009), “Post 80s” youth in China are heterogeneous as well. They exhibit more variation than current research has reflected. In recent years, the disadvantaged “Post 80s” youth in cities has gained some attention from Chinese sociologists (Lu, 2004; Xu & Bi, 2005; Zeng, 2006). “Post 80s” youth in rural/peripheral areas, however, is not a

popular subject of research (Muilu & Rusanen, 2003). Research on this overlooked subgroup in inner ethnic China and rural China and more specifically, this study in Tibet, can play a small role in turning attention to youth in peripheral areas.

1.4.2 Youth in tourism research

Youth involved in the tourism industry are either tourists or hosts, or both. In this section, literature is reviewed based on their roles in the tourism industry.

1.4.2.1 Youth as tourists: The enthusiastic consumers

In 1999, *Young Consumers*, a journal, dedicated to the research about young consumers' behavior first appeared (Young Consumers, 1999). Since then, youth's (potential) consuming ability has been widely explored by both the industry and the academic community (Park, *et al.*, 2009; Sullivan & Heitmeyer, 2008; Wolburg & Pokrywczynski, 2001). Youth in tourism, the largest industry in the world, forms one significant branch of these studies.

Studies on youth as tourists have been undertaken since 1960s. Early youth tourism research focused on education travel. This research concentration is related to the origins of tourism, the 18th century Grand Tour of aristocratic youth in Europe (Adler, 1985; Kalinowski & Weiler, 1992). Later, studies on independent young budget travelers were conducted, exploring young travelers' motivation, and behavior (Chen, 2008; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Vogt, 1976) and their impact on the visited culture (van't Klooster, *et al.*, 2008; Vogt, 1976). Realizing that youth travel is an important industry, a growing market, and an opportunity to reinforce positive values (UNWTO, 2008b), both international organizations and DMOs at different levels highlight its importance (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2004; Tourism Australia, 2009; UNWTO, 2007). In recent years, studies on young tourists have also been carried out in non-western cultures. For example, there is emerging research on "Chinese characteristic" backpackers ("lvyou" in Mandarin) (Lim, 2009; Shepherd, 2009; Zhang, 2008a, 2008b) and cross-cultural comparisons of youth travel (Xu, Morgan, & Song, 2007).

1.4.2.2 Youth as hosts: “The forgotten half”

In 1987, the William T. Grant Foundation (1988a, 1988b) assembled a distinguished panel of scholars and public policy officials to address the life situations of young Americans who did not attend colleges after high school. These non-college-bound youth were regarded as “the forgotten half” when compared with their college-bound counterparts (Halperin, 1998).

In the tourism context, a similar phenomenon exists. Like college youth and non-college-bound youth in the US, young tourists and young hosts form the two sides of a coin. Compared with young tourists, young hosts are somewhat like the non-college-bound youth in America. They are largely overlooked and are “the forgotten half” in tourism research. Here, ‘hosts’ is a convenient integrating expression for two groups of locals with whom tourists come in contact: service personnel and local citizens (Pearce, 2005a), or brokers and locals in Cheong and Miller’s (2000) tripartite system (tourists are the third group in this system).

Chen (2007) described a dilemma that the young hosts face, when he explored the coordination mechanism of traditional culture change in a world heritage listed village in Southwest China. On one hand, local youth are easily influenced by the commercial world and are skeptical of their traditional culture and customs. On the other hand, they are the backbone for future development, and should play critical roles in culture inheritance and development. Their attitudes towards local culture will help determine the direction of development within that society. Consequently, Chen (2007) argued that the young hosts deserve more attention from both researchers and policy makers.

It is notable that there is a growing awareness about youth studies among governments, donor agencies and civil society organizations. They have realized the role of youth in protecting cultural diversity (UNESCO, 2006) and the world’s natural and cultural heritages (UNESCO, 2008, 2009b); in contributing to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (UNWTO, 2008b); in tourism development participation

and capacity building (Tourism West Australia, 2009; WAITOC, 2009); and in delivering positive impacts (UNWTO, 2009). However, how the youth perceive and prefer the tourism development in their community and how they view tourism as a future livelihoods choice all remain relatively unexplored areas.

In the few cases where young hosts are included in research designs, the initial attention is usually given to them among a part of the whole population. Age is frequently used as a demographic descriptor to examine whether there is a significant difference between different cohorts (McGehee & Andereck, 2004; Pearce, 1980; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Zhang & He, 2008). Meanwhile, other scholars, mainly anthropologists and sociologists, have examined the negative impacts (e.g. demonstration effect, cultural assimilation, prostitution, lifestyle, and identities) on local youth (Cohen, 1982; Crick, 1998; de Kadt, 1979; Gössling, *et al.*, 2004; Mbaiwa, 2004; Pizam, 1978; Turner & Ash, 1975; UN & UNWTO, 1999; UNWTO, 2008a).

There are a few studies which emerge as exceptions. Cohen's (1966) observed the interaction between two social systems, the unsettled Israeli Arabs youth and fun oriented adventure seeking tourist girls (Cohen, 2004). Crick (1998) adopted an open-ended questionnaire based survey to assess the impacts of tourism on the lives of Sri Lankan school-leaving youth. He subsequently re-evaluated his sampling, and wrote a useful essay on the methodological difficulties and provided further suggestions associated with youth-oriented anthropological work (Crick, 1998). A third study of note explored the social relations between adolescent residents and tourists in an Italian coastal resort (Canosa, Brown, & Bassan, 2001). This study revealed that interactions with tourists gave rise to a range of emotional and behavioral responses among adolescents of the coastal resort. Additionally, it observed that there was a large difference between the perceptions of those aged 13-15 years old and those aged 16-19 years old. A recent study on young hosts was conducted in Macau, a well-known destination for gambling tourism (Lv & Liu, 2009). In this study, the majority (about 90%) of the sample were students from middle schools to universities.

These studies on young hosts mentioned above, though limited, provide useful methodological guidelines for the present research, especially on sampling and employing novel methods. However, limitations within these studies are also apparent. Notably, most of the studies, with the study in Macau as an exception, considered immature adolescents or children as their respondents. These very young hosts' perceptions, arguably, are unstable, due to their malleable identities and views (Arnett, 2000a). Thus, the meaning and validity of their voices are not always reliable (Huang, Long, & Wang, 2008; Lankford & Howard, 1993; Yang, 2008). The author of this thesis argues that, to access future leaders' voices on tourism in their communities, the mature respondents who are 18 years old or more would be a more appropriate cohort.

Another implication from reviewing studies on the young hosts is that the research methods in the future can be more diversified, employing the advantages of both qualitative methods and quantitative methods. For example, visual methods can be incorporated.

In summary, current research on youth in tourism offers a partial view. It equates youth as (potential) product/service consumers. In tourism, young tourists have been highlighted by both researchers and policy makers, while young hosts are largely overlooked or even forgotten. More studies need to be done to redress the balance by representing the young hosts' views.

1.4.3 The state of knowledge

Both youth study and tourism study are thriving. In this thesis, it is argued that the cross-disciplinary research of these two areas will be enhanced by considering the following issues. The term youth in this discussion will be taken as a synonymous with "Post 80s" which it was noted serves as the best descriptive label for a study based in China.

A key to future studies in this area is that it is timely to consider "the forgotten half" – the young hosts. Research on youth and tourism is accumulating. Yet, writing to date

has often preferred focusing on young tourists (Caldwell & Baldwin, 2004; UNWTO, 2008b). Young hosts, on the other side, have been overlooked, and related research tended to be very sporadic. Compared to the hosts as a whole group, young hosts are a diverse and essential sub-group who will help create the future (Hicks, 1996a; Muilu & Rusanen, 2003; UNESCO, 2009a), and thus directly affect the sustainability of their community.

Another consideration for future studies is sampling. The research sample of current youth research is somewhat a bit problematic. These samples are either immature youngsters less than 18 years old (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004; Hicks, 1996a), or mostly made up of easily accessible college students (Badger, *et al.*, 2006; Lv & Liu, 2009; Ono, 2003). This kind of incomplete sample fails to provide an accurate representation of differences within cultures, because their characteristics and values differ from the remainder of the population (Oyserman, *et al.*, 2002). For example, in countries like China, college attendance is selective. As a result, the sample of college students only represents some youth (Nelson & Barry, 2005). It is suggested that in future work, the diverse population of youth should be addressed in sampling. Specifically, research should consider the perceptions of the “missing majority” youth, who do not have the opportunity to attend colleges (Nelson & Chen, 2007).

1.5 Tourism Research in Tibet and China

China is currently ranked as the world’s No. 3 tourism destination based on international tourist arrivals (UNWTO, 2012). And it is expected to maintain the strong growth and be one of the world’s most visited countries towards 2030 (UNWTO, 2011). These strong figures and predictions, however, do not necessarily mean that China has a long history of modern tourism and tourism research. Modern tourism only began when China initiated the open door policy in 1978 (Lew, *et al.*, 2003; Sofield & Li, 1998). The booming tourism industry in China has captured much attention both domestically and internationally. Tourism research in China, however, remains a relatively unfamiliar activity to the international research community (Hsu,

Huang, & Huang, 2010). In this section, tourism research in China is briefly reviewed. Special attention is paid to research on tourism community relationships and tourism research in one of its autonomous regions, Tibet, which is the core region of this study.

1.5.1 The evolution of tourism research in China

Tourism research began in China when tourism was recognized as an industry in the 1980s. At that time, tourism was included in the Chinese national social and economic plan. Tourism research during this period focused on ‘what to do’ and ‘how to do it’. This kind of research supported the government in forming tourism development strategies and policies (Zhang, 2003). It is at the same period that the most influential Chinese tourism journals (*Tourism Tribune*, *Tourism Science*, and *Journal of Guilin Institute of Tourism*) were first issued and the tourism higher education programs were established in 8 reputable universities (Bao & Zhu, 2008). These academic journals and tourism education and research institutes play important contributing roles in indigenous tourism research.

In the 1990s, the number of published research outputs increased considerably. Research at that time basically adopted a conservative closed-door practice without much international interaction (Li & Zhao, 2007). Most of research was government – directed, because shifts in government policies often brought new waves of ‘research fever’, focusing on issues of policy priorities (Xie, 2003). Government officials also produce research publications related to their administration functions. Research methods at that time were predominantly descriptive, speculative and qualitative (Zhang & Lu, 2004). Research interests were primarily in the economic characteristics of tourism, with trade/industrial administration, corporate management, tourism resources development, and tourism planning on top of the list (Zhang, 2002; Zhao, 2000).

In the new century (2000s), the number of tourism studies in China increased dramatically. Hsu *et al.* (2010) reviewed 1511 articles published on *Tourism Tribune* and *Tourism Science* from 2000 to 2008. They also examined Chinese related tourism

and hospitality research published in English journals (Tsang & Hsu, 2011). This team revealed that research about China's tourism draws on a wide range of disciplinary inputs. Nevertheless, 62% of these papers are business or economics related, suggesting that tourism was often studied for its economic values. They argued that the future direction of research is likely to shift from the current economic-oriented mentality towards investigations with multiple disciplinary inputs and priorities.

In terms of research themes, Hsu *et al.* (2010) reported that topics such as tourism resources/attractions/product development, hotel management, tourism marketing and market analysis are the main interests of Chinese domestic scholars. For international publications, tourism development received the most interest, while consumer/ tourist behaviour has gained popularity as a research topic, and will likely remain as a prevalent research theme in the near future (Tsang & Hsu, 2011). Meanwhile, other topics such as tourism impacts, community participation, leisure and recreation, and rural tourism emerged after 2004-2005 (Hsu, *et al.*, 2010). The diversification of research topics is paralleled by the emerging shift in disciplinary inputs. An emerging holistic and multidisciplinary understanding of tourism in China is developing.

Concerning research methods, Hsu *et al.* (2010) found the majority (72.47%) of the Mandarin studies were discussion or opinion essays devoid of any clear research methodology. Meanwhile, a number of papers introduced tourism related theories and methodologies from abroad to an indigenous audience. In the work published in English, Tsang and Hsu (2011) commented that empirical studies have overtaken the conceptual studies in number and research methods are presented.

1.5.2 Research on tourism community relationships in China

Tourism community relationships research has been accumulating since the late 1990s (Chen, 2007; Liu & Zhu, 2004). During this period, tourism was widely encouraged as a 'shortcut' to development in peripheral areas, with the aim of alleviating poverty, boosting economic development and assisting social improvement (Barre & Jafari,

1997; Jiang, *et al.*, 2011; Li, 2008; Ryan & Gu, 2009b; Theerapappisit, 2009; Yang, *et al.*, 2008).

Unlike the overall trend of tourism research in China, research on tourism community relationships has been empirically based, specifying adopted methods. Chinese researchers are aware of both the positive and the negative impacts (Li, 2006; Miao & Chen, 2007; Yang, 2008). In terms of research design, they tend to borrow from their English-speaking counterparts' research scales, adopting economic, social-cultural, and environmental dimensions to assess tourism' impacts on host communities (Lu & Xiao, 2008; Miao & Chen, 2007; Wang, 2006; Zhang & He, 2008). Recently, attention has been paid to the Chinese contextual issues, which has produced some interesting outcomes. For example, Cottrell *et al.* (2007) suggested adding an institutional dimension to tourism impacts. This is further supported by Xu *et al.* (2008) who claimed that researching into the institutional dynamics is a good approach to understand the complexity of the Chinese society in transition. The institutional dimension reveals the linkages between the grassroots communities, the private business, and the government; between the local government and central government; and between the public and the local population.

Research on community's reactions to tourism was conducted soon after the studies on impacts (Huang, *et al.*, 2008). These studies, taking China's distinctive socio political issues into consideration, had some interesting findings as well (Wang & Lu, 2005). For example, some studies observed that community members held positive attitudes in general and supported further tourism development, even though they were aware of some negative impacts, and/or the development of tourism did not reach their expectations (Gu & Ryan, 2009; Lu, *et al.*, 2008; Lu, Wu, & Xiao, 2006; Yin & Gao, 2008). Additionally, it was observed that certain issues in rural China, for instance, the relationships among communities, the government and external capitals (Li, 2008; Yang & Wall, 2008; Yang, Wall, & Smith, 2008; Ying & Zhou, 2007), community elite (Zhang, 2006), and townships (Gu & Ryan, 2009; Ying & Zhou, 2007), all influence the hosts' reactions.

The progress made by Chinese tourism and community studies is impressive in such a short time. It is especially valuable in building an awareness of the distinctiveness of the Chinese social-economic contexts. It is also important to record some advice in doing research in non-western contexts. Li (2008) and Wang, *et al.* (2010) suggested that adopting theories developed in Western world and testing their applicability is insufficient to detect the essence of tourism community relationships in China. To be more productive in research outputs, future research should be more Chinese sensitive from the beginning of the research, taking the wider social, economic and political issues in China, as well as the research respondents' voices into account (Buckley, *et al.*, 2008; Morais, *et al.*, 2006; Ryan & Gu, 2009a, 2009b). Further, the influence of Chinese culture, such as Confucianism, Taoist and Buddhist values, can be incorporated.

In terms of studying locations, most of the Chinese tourism community research has been conducted in rural communities and ethnic communities (Cottrell, *et al.*, 2007; Miao & Chen, 2007; Oakes, 1995; Peters, 2001; Toops, 1995; Yamamura, 2005; Yang & Wall, 2008; Yang, 2008). Future studies in urban contexts, or comparative studies including urban contexts may offer a more comprehensive picture of tourism and community studies in China (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Schofield, 2011; Wang, 2006).

1.5.3 Tourism research in and about Tibet

This section is not about tourism development in Tibet. Rather, it concentrates on the current tourism research activity which has Tibet as its focus. The concise context of tourism development in Tibet will be presented in Chapter 2.

This section highlights the key findings of a recent systematic review of tourism research in and about Tibet, which can be claimed as one of the foundation components for this thesis (Wu & Pearce, 2012a). This work followed Hsu *et al.*'s (2010) analytical approach and offered a model for assessing tourism studies in many developing regions and destinations. Searching in CNKI (the most comprehensive database for Mandarin literature) and leading tourism journals reinforced the research

status of tourism research in and about Tibet; that it is a well-known but under-researched destination (Fu, 2010; Liu, 2004). By November 2010, a total of 161 journal articles, 27 master theses and 1 doctoral thesis in Mandarin were identified, while only 4 journal articles were located in the 12 major English tourism and hospitality journals identified by McKercher *et al.* (2006) and 2 regional based journals (*Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, and *Journal of China Tourism*). When English publications are considered, research about Tibetans in other regions of China (Kolås, 2004, 2008;) or in Himalayan countries (Nepal, 2000; Kruk, 2009) can be noted.

The key topics Wu and Pearce (2012a) explored included such factors as time lines, disciplinary approaches, study themes, data collection techniques, tools of analysis, and authorship patterns. In the Tibetan case a pragmatic, macro level and applied approach to research was identified. To be specific, Wu and Pearce (2012a) found that the majority of the accessed articles and theses were published after 2006, when the railway connecting inland China and Tibet opened. The most popular topics were tourism development at the macro level, strategic management, tourism resources and development, and alternative tourism products and experiences. Consequently, most of the studies consider a whole of Tibet level (73.3% of the articles, and 53.6% of the theses), with very few studies (only 2.5% of the articles and 10.7% of the theses) concerning tourism in Lhasa, the capital of Tibet as well as the centre of Tibetan tourism.

In terms of research methods and statistical analysis, Wu and Peace (2012a) observed that there was substantial scope for improvement. The theses, as well as the four English articles, clearly defined their research methods. The majority of the journal articles (84.5%), however, were discussion and opinion papers, which did not possess clearly defined methods.

In an analysis of the authorship, Wu and Pearce (2012a) suggested that co-operation in research was not popular, especially where co-operation between Tibetan or

Tibetan affiliated researchers and inland Chinese or overseas researchers is concerned (5 out of 161). In summary, tourism research in and about Tibet has a relatively isolated academic status with limited cooperative work.

Though political concerns are always present in relation to Tibet, Wu and Pearce (2012a) could not identify any Mandarin tourism studies considering the complex political issues between Tibet and the Central Chinese government. Two articles published in English serve as exceptions (Klieger, 1992; Schwartz, 1991). An interest in politics-related topics are reflected in some newly published book sections and theses, such as focus on the neo-Orientalism of Tibetan culture (Bovair, 2008), tourism development and propaganda in contemporary Lhasa (Murakami, 2008), pilgrimage tourism under the complex religious and political issues (Komppa, 2010), and tourism in transition after the 3/14 Riot (Fu, 2010). To some extent, these politics-related articles are in the mainstream of Tibetology in the Western world. This focus is in marked contrast to the topics chosen by domestic scholars, who tend not to treat political topics.

1.5.4 The state of knowledge

Modern tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in China and regional Tibet. It can be suggested that due to language barriers and resources constraints (Zhang, 2003), and/or unfamiliarity with the research setting (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007), the rigour of academic research in China and especially regional Tibet, lags behind that of international scholarly work (Hsu *et al.* 2010).

However, it is not necessary to be pessimistic about the future of tourism research. Indigenous researchers have gradually realized the research potential of many unique problems that the world's largest socialist developing country confronts (Ryan & Gu, 2009c; Xiao, 2005). For example, Ryan and Gu (2009) proposed that future research should take the following factors into account when considering tourism in China. These factors are man-nature relationships, the role of face, contracts and personal relationships, the predisposition towards classification, categorization and taxonomies,

the economic imperative, the socialist market system and erosion of state, and the construction of a harmonious society. Indeed, copying western concepts and meanings into contexts like China is inappropriate (Ap, 2004; Buckley, *et al.*, 2008; Moscardo, 2004; Sofield & Li, 1998; Xu, *et al.*, 2008). Taking the local social, cultural, economic issues into account makes research more contextually sensitive and distinctive (Cohen, 1979b; Pearce, 2004; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). If tourism community research is considered, a set of sustainable indicators could be designed, relying on communities' distinctive characteristics by incorporating all stakeholders' views (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006). Only in this way, can future studies contribute to the flourishing international research community.

As far as Tibet is concerned, Wu and Pearce (2012a) revealed some research opportunities, for example, more small-scale studies of tourism businesses, further analysis of the politics inherent in tourism strategies, more work on the tourism issues in the main destination of Lhasa, better national and international cooperation and the application of more refined statistical and interpretive techniques. Some of these research opportunities reinforced previous claims in tourism and community studies that the wider issues and the indigenous issues should be incorporated and reflected (see 1.2.3). They also strengthen the idea that in this present study, both the research methods and the data analysis needs to be well planned and conducted.

1.6 Integrating the Perspectives: A Synthesis

1.6.1 Research opportunities

The existing substantial and multi-faceted literature which underpins this study has roots in tourism community studies, future studies, youth studies and tourism research in China and Tibet. These existing studies are helpful in enriching our understanding. Research in this area, however, can be more insightful and useful if we take the following four research opportunities into account.

Firstly, there is a paucity of forward-looking research in tourism community studies and tourism studies as general. Current studies largely look to the past or focus on the present (Wall & Mathieson, 2006). The researcher argues that forward-looking studies, however, may be practical and more attractive to managers and policy-makers, because they are looking for adaptive and tailored governance to enhance tourism community relationships (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). In this way, forward-looking research also helps move towards the fifth platform of tourism research, the “public outreach” stage (Jafari, 2005).

Indeed, one of the challenges that community development faces is to be sufficiently dynamic to deal with the long-term changes (Scoones, 2009). Forward-looking thinking and research offer a pathway. Assessing preferred futures can be a basis for planning and action. This is especially true for tourism communities in the early development stages, the future of which is open and filled with both opportunities and difficulties.

Secondly, while there is an increasing literature focusing on hosts’ active roles during tourism development, by reversely gazing on the tourists and tourism in general (Amuquandoh, 2010; Berno, 1999; Lanfant, 1993; Lea, Kemp, & Willetts, 1994), an emic understanding of how locals define tourism, tourists and think about their futures tends to be missing. An emic view emphasises that research should be carried out from the insider’s perspective so that the study can reflect the studied group’s beliefs, thoughts and attitudes (Berry, 1999; Pike, 1967). Linked to this idea is that the first point of departure for host community research should encompass the local or indigenous understandings of tourists and tourism (Cohen, 1979b; Maoz & Bekerman, 2010; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Pearce & Wu, 2010). In particular, the highly educated and critically trained academics’ interpretation may not parallel local meanings (McGregor, 2000; Squire, 1994). Importantly, local definitions may affect the validity and meaning of research questions and tourism plans (Chhabra, 2010; Wu & Pearce, 2012b).

The review of previous community research revealed that a high proportion of the studies were driven by researchers' (outsiders') ideas, which may be very different from the perceptions of the research participants (hosts/insiders) (Faulkner, 2001; Ryan, 2001; Tribe & Airey, 2007). Many studies tend to adopt and/or adapt the three-fold scales developed by some seminal work (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Lankford & Howard, 1993). They tend to neglect the lay concepts and ideas rooted in the host community. This weakness in the existing approaches justifies the value of the current interest in exploring the hosts' attitudes and perceptions towards tourism in general (Berno, 1999; Evans-Pritchard, 1989; Joseph & Kavoori, 2001; Lepp, 2008; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Suntikul, Bauer, & Song, 2010).

In addition, studies focusing particularly on the young hosts are timely. Throughout the world, researchers, scientists, and the industry strive to develop new research-based understandings about young people's perceptions and aspirations about themselves, the society and the future (Eckersley, 1997; Hicks, 1996b; Roehlkepartain, 2008). Within this concerted effort, however, lies the paradox of the 'forgotten half' when youth and tourism are considered (Canosa, *et al.*, 2001; Crick, 1998; Lv & Liu, 2009). Most of the research views youth as tourists (Chen, 2008; van't Klooster, *et al.*, 2008; Loker-Murphy & Pearce, 1995; Vogt, 1976). The opportunity to integrate young hosts' perspectives becomes pivotal to building a more complete research view. Besides, listening to the young generation is also consistent with the humanistic spirit suggested by futurists (Masini, 2002).

A further issue is the concern with the research site and its contextual issues. Certainly, tourism community studies have been done in non-western contexts. The author observes that two initiatives are important to enhance this growing agenda. The first relates to the point that most of the research has been carried out in peripheral areas (Cottrell, *et al.*, 2007; Miao & Chen, 2007; Oakes, 1995; Peters, 2001; Toops, 1995; Yamamura, 2005; Yang & Wall, 2008; Yang, 2008). Tourism in the urban areas has been assessed much less often (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Schofield, 2011; Wang, 2006). The other point is that when doing research in a non-western context, it is easy

to copy and test the research findings, theories and research paradigms identified by western counterparts. A number of studies in the Chinese contexts have observed that Western concepts and terms may not translate clearly or readily into Chinese contexts (Buckley, *et al.*, 2008; Li, 2008; Li, 2004; Ryan & Gu, 2009c; Sofield & Li, 2011). Xu *et al.* (2008) suggested that a pathway to keep the balance between the Western and Chinese tourism research paradigms is to recognize the lived complexity of modern life and to investigate tourism in the wider contexts where traditional beliefs, cultural identities and histories are constituted and inscribed both in space and on the self. Tourism may act as a mirror reflecting the wider issues in a non-western context, and thus enhance our understanding about this diversified world (Bessière, 1998; Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Wearing, *et al.*, 2010).

The final opportunity lies in extending the concepts and exploring the theoretical application of key approaches in the tourism community literature. As reviewed in section 1.2.2, selected theories, concepts and frameworks have been adopted in tourism community studies. However, whether they are applicable in Chinese context, specifically in the Tibet context is unanswered.

Cohen (1972) suggested the value of “theories of the middle ground” rather than the creation of a single theory for tourism studies. By studying the typology of tourists, he illustrated the potential for a middle ground between a “grand theory” of tourism and idiosyncratic studies. He believed that diversified theories can be applied in the study of tourism. Cohen’s middle ground theory approach was supported by Franklin and Crang (2001, p.18) and Franklin (2007, p.131) who noted that “tourism studies does not need to find some ‘north-west passage’ or Big Theory to legitimate itself as a school of thought”. This idea was reinforced by Dann (2005) when he thoroughly examined the state of tourism theory. He noted that most of theoretical contribution to tourism fell short of being truly new theories. Instead, he characterised the contributions as extending the concepts from outside tourism.

This study, through its forward looking nature, its focus on the insiders (emic) views, and its focus and sensitivity to a non-western context, has the potential to extend the concepts and theories in tourism community studies. To conclude, the research opportunities from current research are summarized in Figure 1.1.

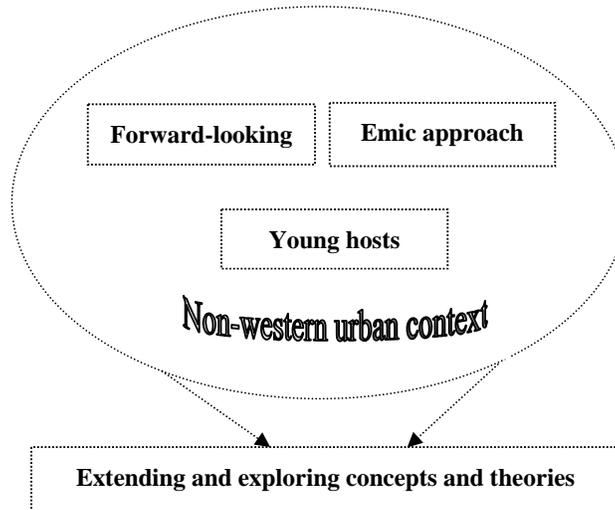


Figure 1. 1: Research opportunities for this study

1.6.2 The overall research question

Based on the literature review, especially the research opportunities identified above, this thesis is interested in examining the following research question.

How do the Tibetan “Post 80s” youth assess tourism community futures in Lhasa, Tibet?

The research approach adopted, as well as the theories and framework, directly affect the detailed research questions to be explored in this thesis. Further, the research contexts have an influence on the wording of the research aims. The detailed research questions and aims will be presented at the end of Chapter 2 after fully considering the research approaches and research context.

Chapter 2–Research Design, Contexts and Aims

Chapter structure

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2.5 Research Aims and Thesis Outline

2.5.1 Specification of the overall research question

2.5.2 Research aims

2.5.3 Thesis outline: Linking with research aims

2.6 Summary: Research framework and the thesis outline

2.1 Introduction

As reviewed in Chapter 1, there are several concerns in tourism community studies, specifically in dealing adequately and comprehensively with the views of local residents. They include the need 1) to provide a theoretical system or framework to understand the ways in which community perceptions develop and operate (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Wall & Mathieson, 2006); and 2) to gain insiders' meanings and voices on what they perceive and prefer (Cohen, 1979b; Maoz & Bekerman, 2010; Pearce & Wu, 2010). To overcome these challenges, this study carefully selects its organizing theories and framework, thus addressing the first concern. In addition, this study pays attention to the research approach and methodology issues, targeting the second concern. Organizing theories and framework, and the research approach, as well as how they work together, form the conceptual scheme of this chapter. Social representations theory and the Sustainable Livelihoods framework are considered, examined and adopted. The emic and etic approaches are reviewed and integrated to guide how the research will be conducted.

Three research methods are studied and selected. They are photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups, and a questionnaire based survey. The broad methodological issues are profiled in this chapter, while the specific implementation of the approaches is documented in the following empirical chapters.

In addition, the research context of this study, Lhasa, Tibet is briefly presented. The broad overall research question offered at the end of Chapter 1 is specified into three subthemes and corresponding research aims. At the end of this chapter, the full structure of this thesis is outlined, with special attention paid to the connection between research chapters and research aims.

2.2 The Conceptual Scheme of this Thesis

The conceptual scheme of this study contains three components, which work together in a sequence. They are social representations theory, the Sustainable Livelihoods framework (hereafter referred to as the SL framework), and the integration of emic and etic approaches. This section presents the main ideas of each item, their application in tourism research, and their adoption in this thesis. It concludes with

how the theory, framework and research approach work together, attending to the two major concerns of tourism community studies mentioned above.

2.2.1 Social representations theory

2.2.1.1 Main ideas of the theory

Social representations theory was developed by Moscovici (1961, 1984, as cited in Moscovici, 1988) from the broader sociological term of collective representations used by Durkheim. Expressed succinctly, social representations are “ways of world making” (Moscovici, 1988), and “systems of perceptions, images and values which have their own cultural meaning and persist independently of individual experience” (Moscovici, 1983, p.122). They are shared, publicly-communicated, everyday belief systems of meaning (Moscardo & Pearce, 2007; Pearce, 2005a; Quenza, 2005). They exist for large scale public issues and topics such as unemployment, sex, dieting, health, madness, and tourism. Social representations exist outside the individual as well as in the minds of individuals (Howarth, 2005).

Every representation can be understood as being situated inside a dynamic semiotic triangle: the object that is represented, the person who undertakes the representation, and the social group of relevance to the individual undertaking this representation (Moscovici, 1985). For Moscovici, an issue is not simply reproduced in the mind of the subject, but given life through the socio-cognitive activity of its user, which in turn is embedded in a cultural and historical context (Quenza, 2005). Relationships with others give meaning to any issue and such social links develop an inter-subjective reality that serves as a common code for communication and social interaction.

Moscovici suggested that social representations have two functions (Moscovici, 1973, as cited in Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The first function establishes an order whereby individuals can orientate themselves in their material and social world and help master their context. A second function of social representations is directed at social communication since representations provide codes for naming, classifying and explaining ambiguous individual experiences and social changes. Social representations help us both make sense of our world and interact with other social members by making the unfamiliar familiar through objectification and anchoring (Moscovici, 1984).

Besides the functions mentioned above, Moscovici (1984) proposed another function of social representations – prescription, which highlights the power of social representations. Once social representations are established, they influence human behavior and social interaction by often subtly imposing themselves upon us and so limiting our social-cognitive activities. Social representations are not only a product of human agents acting on their society but they can be equally prescriptive and coercive in nature (Moscovici, 1984). Similarly, Pearce (2009b) argued that social representations are not just an outcome of social conversation and its antecedents but they shape the way groups continue to see phenomenon and how they behave in relation to the opportunities and circumstances they encounter.

To search for the distinctiveness of social representations theory, Voelklein and Howarth (2005) compared it with other general sociological and psychological concepts such as attitude, values, ideology and worldview. They reported that social representations are more akin to the term worldview than the specific constructs of attitudes and values, because social representations are mini theories about how sub sections of social life work. Voelklein and Howarth further suggested that the leading distinctiveness of social representations is its social nature. Social representations are socially produced knowledge, shared by groups within a society. They reflect how people jointly “see” the world and help facilitate communication. This feature indicates that individuals should not be seen in isolation. The essentially social nature of these representations and our understanding was initially outlined by Moscovici (1988) and then supported and elaborated by others (Howarth, 2005; Jaspars & Fraser, 1984; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Stjerna, Lauritzen, & Tillgren, 2004; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005).

Three ideas define the social character of social representations theory. First, representations make up the common culture and so construct the symbolic boundaries and thereby the identities of social groups and communities (Howarth, Foster, & Dorrer, 2004). Secondly, representations are social in the sense that they are always collectively created and validated through the processes of communication and social interaction and thus cannot be seen to belong to one individual alone (Voelklein & Howarth, 2005). Thirdly, representations are social since their content and specific forms are influenced by the historic or economic climate as well as the social practices and general cultural context (Stjerna, *et al.*, 2004). In summary, social

representations originate socially, describe or represent an aspect of the social world, and are shared with others (Jaspars & Fraser, 1984).

It is worth noting, however, that not all groups are uniformly cohesive and, as a consequence of this variability, Moscovici (1988) proposed three levels of consensus of social representation. “Hegemonic” representations are described as stable and homogeneously accepted by the whole community, “emancipated” representations exist when subgroups have somewhat differentiated opinions and ideas, and “polemical” representations exist in the context of group conflict, with subgroups having opposing outlooks. These social representations are afforded a degree of stability because of their prescriptive power, as well as the fact that they are reinforced socially. However, it would be misleading to suggest that they are the sole determinants of individual perceptions. They do determine how people see the world, but are simultaneously determined by interaction and communication within the society. So, it is reasonable to say that there are competing and sometimes contradictory versions of reality existing side by side in the same community, culture and individual (Howarth, *et al.*, 2004; Mayers, 2005; Pearce, 2009b).

On reviewing the nature and main features of social representations, it can be concluded that social representations are a broad synthesis of attitudes, images and values. They combine the communities’ beliefs about the past and present and may include explanations which shape images of the future. At core this is an emic, contextual, and social theory. It has the potential to understand how changes to the context of individuals’ lives can lead to perceptions of opportunities and threat, and suggests how ideas and everyday theories shape actions (Devine-Wright, 2009; Manzo & Perkins, 2006; Pearce, 2005a; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Ryan, *et al.*, 1998). Social representations are highly relevant to a major topic which has the potential to change people’s lives and social worlds- the development and growth of tourism.

2.2.1.2 Application in tourism research

The theoretical perspective of social representations theory has been applied to tourism studies most notably by Pearce and his colleagues (1996). For them, social representations theory offers an interesting opportunity to examine how representations help structure and organize community views of tourism impacts. By adopting this theory, they challenged the existing logic in understanding tourism

community relationships. Their view is consistent with social constructivist thinking: “we respond to reality not as it is but to reality as we construe it (Mayers, 2005, p. 7).” Pearce *et al.* (1996) also conducted empirical studies to examine the suitability of social representation theory in analyzing tourism community relationship in both Australian and overseas contexts. Recently, Pearce and his colleagues applied the theory to illuminate tourist stereotypes (Pearce, 2005a), tourism education (Moscardo & Pearce, 2007) and tourism research in the tropics (Pearce, 2009b), and found its suitability in explaining behavior in these contexts.

Influenced by Pearce’s seminal work in the tourism area, social representations theory has been employed by other researchers, including studies of tourism impacts (Rocharungsat, 2005; Zhou & Ap, 2009), tourism transportation (Dickson & Robbins, 2007), and tourism planning and governance (Moscardo, 2011). Allied contemporary studies also support the value of adopting this social, emic, dynamic and contextual theory in tourism studies (Cave, *et al.*, 2003; Cohen, 1979b; Murphy, 1983; Ryan, *et al.*, 1998; Wall, 1996). These studies show the power of social representations theory in identifying how individuals respond to common concerns and how they construct and are influenced by shared views.

2.2.1.3 Adoption in this thesis

The study under investigation is Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and preferences for tourism futures in their community. Social representations theory can be used to explore how many macro organizing views the Tibetan youth hold about tourism, as well as issues such as the value of tourism as a future livelihoods choice. Questions this study seeks to address include is there a dominant view, are there multiple and competing views and how are these views constructed? The social representation approach is particularly helpful in directing attention to the large scale perceptions and support for tourism or the lack of enthusiasm for tourism induced change. It can be helpful in summarizing questions about the origin of the respondents’ ideas about tourism and with whom they share those ideas.

Although the above academic directions highlight the suitability of social representations theory in tourism studies, the potential of the theory within tourism community relationships research is in need of clarification, elaboration and development. In particular social representations do not direct researchers to any

specific content defining people's views even though Moscovici and other have always stated that the content of the representations matters. A combination with other theories, frameworks or research approaches represents one possible route to help specify further ways in which this key approach to understanding social life may be enriched for tourism study. The SL framework is advocated in this study, and is presented in the next section.

2.2.2 Sustainable Livelihoods approach

2.2.2.1 Main ideas of the framework

Sustainable Livelihoods approach (hereafter referred to as SL approach) arose from the broad context of rural development, and has become central to the discourse on poverty alleviation, rural development, natural resources and environment management (Baumann, 2000; Scoones, 1998). It was first officially proposed by an Advisory Panel of World Commission on Environment and Development (hereafter referred to as WCED) in 1987. Reviewing the WCED panel definition, Chambers and Conway (1991) put forth their understanding as:

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living (p. 6).”

“A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation, and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in short and long term (p.6).”

On reviewing previous research, Chambers and Conway (1991) noted the tendency for researchers to define as significant those variables which can be easily captured and counted particularly from standard statistical sources. They argued that this approach of convenience misses much of the dispersed and diverse livelihood activities of local people. Thus, they proposed SLs as an alternative. Indeed, livelihoods and SLs are concepts which have evolved from open-ended fieldwork. SLs have the power to catch and reveal the multi-sectoral character of real life and the diverse ways in which people make a living and build their world (Bebbington, 1999; Tao, 2006). As a result, this development work is better able to address actual problems as they exist at the community level (Helmore & Singh, 2001; UNDP & Wanmali, 1999, as cited in Tao, 2006).

Based on Chambers and Conway’s foundation work, the further studies which extend the ideas have been undertaken by Scoones (1998), Ellis (2000), and some international agencies. Scoones (1998) outlined a pentagram-based framework for analyzing sustainable livelihoods. The approach can be seen as capturing the essential concept of ‘livelihoods’. Other research groups have embedded the pentagram in a flow diagram to illustrate the forces and conditions shaping the multiple dimensions of livelihoods. Figure 2.1 shows a simplified framework adjusted from Ashley (2000).

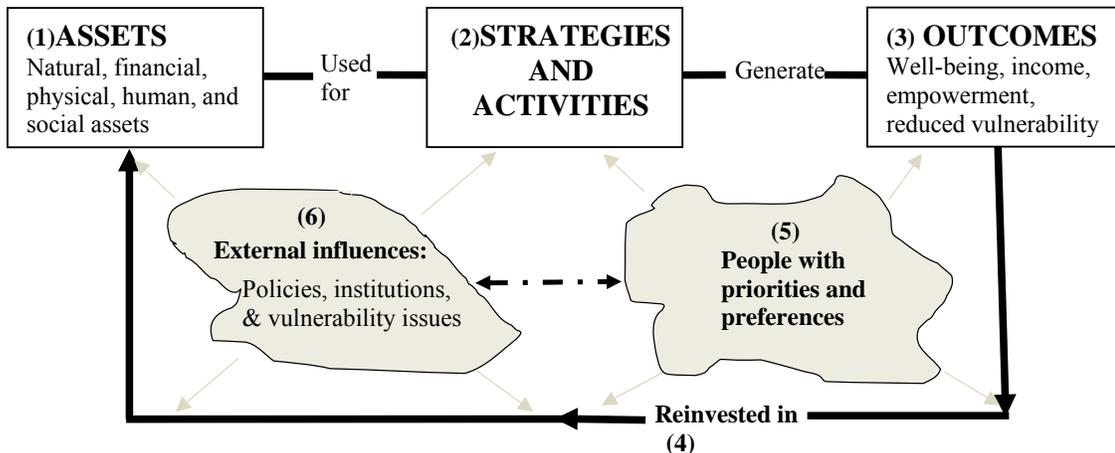


Figure 2. 1: A simplified SL framework

Source: Ashley (2000)

The logic of the SL framework is: (1) the assets, both tangible and intangible, are inputs to a livelihood system; (2) based on the accessible assets arrangement, livelihood strategies and activities are chosen; (3) these activities will produce some outcomes on livelihoods security at the micro level and sustainability at the wider level; (4) this is an ongoing process. The livelihoods outcomes will be reinvested, and thus affect the access to assets, and further activities and outcomes; (5) for the whole process, people are put in the centre, and (6) the influence of external issues (PIP: Policy, institution, and processes, and vulnerability) is omnipresent.

Following this logic, the framework identifies five key indicators. They are,

- (1) Arrangement of livelihood assets/resources, consisting of natural, economic or financial, human and social capitals. These assets and resources are fundamental to any specific livelihoods strategy. It is also fundamental to understand the options open to the individuals and households, the strategies they adopt to survive, and their vulnerability to adverse trends and events.

- (2) The vulnerability context. This is a key concept related to livelihood sustainability. It includes shocks, seasonality, trends and change. It may adversely affect people's assets and choice of livelihoods.
- (3) Formal and informal organizational and institutional factors. They consist of policies, institutions, and process, which are the broader contexts of livelihoods, and play important roles in shaping livelihood assets and outcomes in the SL system.
- (4) Different livelihood strategies. They are activities employed to generate the means of living. They take account of the accessible assets, the vulnerability context, and are supported or obstructed by policies, institutions and process, and will lead to potential livelihood outcomes.
- (5) Sustainable livelihood outcomes. This element refers to the successes and objectives that livelihoods strategies achieve. They are the pathways to assess livelihood sustainability.

Unlike previous development conceptual schemes, the SL approach is a *people-centred* paradigm. It puts people in the spotlight and emphasizes the inherent capacities and knowledge systems of rural and urban publics. Thus, it is in line with the humanity first spirit proposed by Brandt Commission (WCED, 1990), Agenda 21 and forms of development thinking that community growth and well-being should begin with people rather than projects (Kreutzwiser, 1993; Simpson, *et al.*, 2003).

In addition, the SL approach adopts a fundamental position stressing access to assets. It also integrates the broader environmental, social and economic context of livelihoods into a holistic analysis framework. Importantly, the SL approach reveals the multiple-sectoral character of real life, and thus offers an opportunity to promote the sort of cross-sectoral and cross-thematic approach that should be the hallmark of development work (Helmore & Singh, 2001; UNDP & Wanmali, 1999, as cited in Tao, 2006). As a result, the SL approach can assist researchers to appreciate the complex reality of people's lives, and to better understand livelihood opportunities and challenges, which vary markedly within and between areas and countries (Ahlerup, Olsson, & Yanagizawa, 2009).

Further, this framework also helps identify the "restrictions/barriers and opportunities (or 'gateways')" to SL (Scoones, 1998). Attention to these 'gateways' is especially

useful when translated into operational practice, as it helps ensure people can use their assets productively (Moser, 1998).

2.2.2.2 Application in tourism research

The SL approach takes the form of an ‘assets-access-activities’ framework that has its origins in the diverse literature on poverty, vulnerability, coping with crisis, and adaption by rural individuals and households to the changing environment and shocks they confront (Ellis, 2000). It is equally applicable to urban and rural settings. Its holistic and integrated thinking has gained popularity among researchers, practitioners and developers in other areas (Chambers & Conway, 1991). Studies in other fields show that the assets can be combined and transformed into diverse livelihoods, in addition to or instead of the traditional primary industries (Bebbington, 1999).

The SL approach has also been adopted in tourism research. Ashley (2000) assessed the wide range of impacts that tourism has on the livelihoods of rural residents in parts of Namibia. She illustrated that a focus on livelihoods offers a useful perspective on tourism for enhancing local benefits, because “taking a livelihoods perspective helps identify the wide range of impacts – direct and indirect, positive and negative – that matter to local people (p.6)”. Recent studies in other locations are emerging. In 2007 at the International Tourism Biennial, Wall (2007) reviewed the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism and suggested some limitations. In his view, the focus implied by the term “sustainable tourism” is too narrow for many sustainability issues resulting from the interaction among sectors – different sectors, one of which may be tourism, competing for the use of scarce resources. He further proposed the SLs as a more practical approach, because “livelihoods” is a more tangible concept than “development” and is easier to discuss, observe, describe and even quantify. Publications based on the case study of two indigenous communities in Taiwan followed Wall’s enthusiasm for the SL approach (Tao, 2006, 2011; Tao & Wall, 2009). These empirical studies suggested that tourism can be a beneficial form of livelihood diversification in the non-primary economic sector if a community decides to incorporate tourism as one of their livelihood strategies. Involving tourism as a livelihoods choice has many advantages, for example, it is “(1) a means to enable accumulation (e.g., income) for consumption and investment; (2) a means to help spread risk; (3) an adaptive response to longer-term declines in income or entitlements, due to serious economic or environmental changes beyond local control; and/or (4) a

means to take pressure off fragile lands and increase household incomes (Wall, 2007, p.14).”

Other research using the SL approach in tourism study include Mbaiwa and Sakuze’s (2009) study in Botswana, Lee’s (2008) study in Taiwan, and Kong *et al.*’s (2008) study in northwestern China. These studies supported Wall’s ideas on tourism as a livelihood diversification strategy. Mandke (2007) studied the linkages between tourism as a livelihood strategy and urban poverty reduction in Bangkok. McGowan (2010) considered the intersection between sustainable livelihoods and tourism development, especially on how the unequal political, economic and social power structures operated on and through the local market vendors’ access to tourism benefits in Aguas Galientes, Peru. Clearly a range of researchers are finding the approach to be rich in elaborating the details of how local people approach their well-being.

Contemplating the SL framework, Ellis (2000) commented that livelihoods represent particular challenges for limiting the scope of empirical enquiry. The complex interrelationships between assets, access and activities, make it difficult to decide what factors to include or exclude from the investigation. Interpersonal social processes, such as kinship networks and reciprocal obligations, are particularly difficult to research. Carefully examining livelihoods studies in the tourism area, it is found that the mainstream of the studies focus on the analysis of the diverse positive and negative consequences that different types of tourism can have on people’s asset base, portfolio of activities, the specific outcomes they seek, and their influences on external organizations (Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; Shen, 2009; M. C. Simpson, 2007; Tao, 2006; Tao & Wall, 2009). Meanwhile, a few studies have focussed on some specific assets, such as social assets (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011; McGowan, 2010; Saxena, 2006), PIP (politics, institution and process) issues (Lee, 2008; McGowan, 2010; McMinn, 2006), and vulnerability issues (McMinn, 2006). The value of all of these studies is recognized. It is argued, however, that studies in the later group need to be encouraged. They explain and structure local communities’ views by exploring some non-tangible but important issues. Thus, they not only offer some intervention suggestions, but also remind us to think in an integrated way, to incorporate the wider issues, and to pay attention to the access to the least tangible assets, such as social assets, as well as political and governance limits and possibilities.

2.2.2.3 Adoption in this thesis

Tao and Wall (2009, p.19) stated that “it is important that local communities can have the opportunity to evaluate their own resources (human, physical, and economic), to assess their past, present and future needs and resources, and to identify their strengths and weaknesses before evaluating any decision to become involved in tourism.” Only when communities understand themselves and their abilities in their own terms, can they begin to evaluate decisions relating to external features such as tourism.

In a review of their tourism consequences study, Wall and Mathieson (2006) suggested that it is essential to decide what attributes are significant and are likely to be modified, in order to decide what data are to be collected and assessed. Indeed, asking the right questions is critical, but not easy (Pearce & Moscardo, 1999). The SL framework in this thesis, however, offers a set of well-defined areas about which questions can be asked. The kinds of resources and assets identified in the livelihoods analysis have tangible and specific qualities and effectively scan a wide range of interest areas. The approach can help build confidence in the thoroughness of any assessment of the perceptions of and preferences for tourism’s future.

Instead of focusing on the current livelihoods, this thesis explores the young hosts’ perceptions of assets in their community, their preferences for tourism as a future livelihoods choice and their preferred outcomes. Since accessibility to assets will finally determine the possibility as to whether the young hosts can combine and transform them into tourism activities, special attention is paid to such access.

2.2.3 The emic and etic approaches: An integrative perspective

The theory and frameworks already considered do not directly shape the behaviour of researchers in terms of how to approach their understanding of communities. It is suggested that the integration of emic and etic approach offers such a pathway. This section introduces and analyses the emic and etic approaches in tourism research. Special attention is given to its adoption in tourism and its applicability to the current study.

2.2.3.1 The emic and etic approaches

The emic and etic terminology refers to basic approaches in cross-cultural studies. The terms involve both the cultural understandings of behaviour and the comparative analysis of these understandings.

Pike, an anthropological linguist, developed the terms emics and etics, from the linguistic concept of phonemics and phonetics. He used the expressions as a way of discriminating between different types of data that are gathered in the study of cultural phenomena. Pike suggested that the emic viewpoint results from studying behaviour from inside the system. Meanwhile, the etic point of view studies behaviour from the outside of a particular system (Pike, 1967). Harris (1968) modified Pike's definition. In Harris's view, emic statements refer to the logical systems whose discriminations are real and significant to the actors themselves, reflect the insider's beliefs, thoughts and attitudes. The emic approach assesses the insider's reported practices. By way of contrast, etic statements depend on distinctions judged as appropriate by scientific observers. They reflect the observer's formulation of the insider's thoughts and reactions, and record the observer's analysis of the insider's action. The essence of the two definitions is similar, but Harris extends Pike's original formulation.

In practice, some researchers view the emic and etic approaches as innately conflicting and emphasize one to the exclusion of the other (Feleppa, 1986). The idea that the two approaches are complementary, however, is more popular. For example, Pike (1967) claimed that both of the approaches are valuable, and neither is more important than the other (see Table 2.1). Berry (1999) supported Pike's idea and declared that both approaches are necessary to any developing social science field. Local knowledge and interpretations (the *emic* approach) are essential, but more than one study is required in order to be able to relate variations in cultural context to variations in behaviour (the *etic* approach) (Berry, 1999). The complementary nature between emic and etic approaches to understand a culture was further elaborated by Feleppa (1986), Niblo and Jackson (2004), Pike and Harris (1990), Scoones (1998) and Warner (1999).

Table 2. 1: Values of emic and etic approaches

Approach	Values in research
Emic approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • permits an understanding of the way in which a culture is constructed, ‘not as a series of miscellaneous parts, but as a working whole’; • helps one to understand individuals in their daily lives, including their attitudes, motives, interests and personality ; • provides the basis upon which a predictive science of behaviour can be expected to make some of its greatest progress.
Etic approach	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provides a broad perspective and training about differing events around the world, so that similarities and differences can be recognized; • techniques for recording differing phenomena can be acquired; • acts as the only point of entry to begin an analysis by starting with a rough, tentative (and inaccurate) etic description of it; • an etic comparison of selected cultures may allow a researcher to meet practical demands, such as financial limitations or time pressures.

Source: adapted from Pike (1967, pp. 40-41)

In addition, Berry (1969) divided the etic approach into imposed etic and derived etic. He further proposed a logical sequence for conducting good research. This approach integrated an imposed etic approach, then an emic approach, and finally a derived etic approach. In Berry’s view, *imposed etic* can serve as the starting point for cross-cultural research. It is an essential approach in an alien system, which helps the researchers understand the context in a preliminary way (Pike, 1967). Next is the need for *emic* exploration. Here there is an attempt to understand culturally based meanings that are most probably missed when making the initial *imposed etic* assessment. Third is the *derived etic* phase. This approach follows extensive use of *emic* approaches in a number of cultures and seeks to integrate previous studies. It is expected that some similarities and differences might be derived from a comparative examination of behaviour across various cultures. Berry’s (1999) ‘hybrid’ methodological approach offers a guideline for using the methods in a sequence.

2.2.2 Application in tourism research

Cohen (1979b) was the first researcher in tourism to advocate the emic approach. He argued that it is not sufficient to study the touristic process from the outside, and the

emic perspectives of different parties participating in the tourism process should be given explicit recognition in the research design. Later, Cohen (1993) adopted this approach in his study of tourist images of native people. In their review of the tourism and community studies literature, Pearce *et al.* (1996) observed that most of the survey studies were etic in nature. Some exceptions are Evans-Pritchard's (1989) research on how "they" (Native American) see "us" (tourists and tourism in their communities), Simpson's (1993) study on the social and practical consequences of tourism in Sri Lankan indigenous communities, and studies by Pearce *et al.* (1996) in tourism community relationships in regional Australia.

In 1997, Walle provided a systematic review of the emic and etic approaches in tourism research (see Table 2.2). Being aware of the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches, Walle (1997) commented that the choice of an emic or etic approach must be determined by the situation in which research takes place, rather than by some misguided search for rigor simply for its own sake.

Recently, a growing support for the emic approach in tourism research, encompassing an indigenous understanding has emerged (Berno, 1999). Tao (2006) and van Egmond (2007) noted that contemporary tourism research is primarily a western phenomenon. They urged that one should not make the assumption that one's own etic-emic concepts are necessarily true for other cultures.

The emic approach has also been applied in other ways in tourist research. For example, Caton and Santos (2007) undertook in-depth active interviews, as well as personal reflection to study participants and identify the motivations of heritage tourists visiting the Route 66 National Historic Corridor. They revealed that the meaningful elements of their travel experiences as suggested by tourists were not conceptualized in the tourism literature. For example, the tourists' self-identified elements were historical education, interaction with diverse landscapes, interaction with hosts, and personal growth, while arguably previous research connected the experience with nostalgia. Hence, they emphasized the emic approach, and the importance of considering tourists' interpretations of their experiences when generating theory about tourism phenomena. Similar claims have been made by Maoz and Bekerman (2010) when they examined how tourists view and classify themselves and Cohen (2011) when he researched the lifestyle travellers in India and Thailand.

They too argued that the emic approach may help us refrain from imposing our own rigid, objective, and etic views.

Table 2. 2: Emic approach versus etic approach in tourism research

Tourism term	Scientific method	Qualitative research
Anthropology term	Etic (Science)	Emic (Art)
Characteristics	Formality; Rigor emphasised ; Mathematical tools prominent	Insight/intuition employed; Qualitative data employed
Especially useful when	Appropriate data can be gathered; Questions can be attacked via scientific method; Many informants needed; Adequate time for research available	Formal/Scientific methods will not result in needed data; Formal models are not useful; Time pressures do not permit formal research
Net result of trade-offs	A sacrifice of possibly important data and/or abandoning certain research topics is accepted in order that the research is placed on a firms scientific foundation	Rigor is sacrificed for the sake of attacking questions which formal questions cannot easily pursue; Insight/intuition of skilled researchers are allowed a free reign; Possible time savings

Source: Walle (1997, p.531)

It was previously noted that studies in the tourism community relationships fell into two groups (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The first group undertook anthropological case studies, which tended to be emic and detailed in nature. The other group adopted survey studies, who often employed standardized scales. These studies were mostly etic in nature. Nearly 17 years later, the paradigms in this area, even the broader cross-culture studies, have not really been challenged (Maoz & Bekerman, 2010; Niblo & Jackson, 2004; Watkins & Gnoth, 2011). Embracing a wider variety of

methods, especially some non-traditional methods, can probably assist this shift (Pearce & Yagi, 2004; Walle, 1997).

2.2.3 Adoption in this thesis

The advantages of the emic approach are evident. It has undoubted power in assessing the insiders' voices. These insiders are part of the fabric of the study site and can interpret the value of the area within their own cultural context. As far as tourism community studies are concerned, the researcher is usually an "outsider" to the community. The emic approach may offer some insightful ideas. In this study, the emic approach will be highlighted, but it will be used in concert with the etic approach.

The exact research procedure is expressed in detail in Figure 2.2. In this study, an imposed etic approach is firstly undertaken to seize the research opportunities from the literature review. After that, the emic approach will be adopted to represent the hosts in tourism communities. The main process and results from the emic approach will be presented in the empirical chapters. Finally, a derived etic approach will be used for the comparative studies. This strategy should generate similarities and differences among the two selected communities and their western counterparts, and build general knowledge about the tourism community literature.

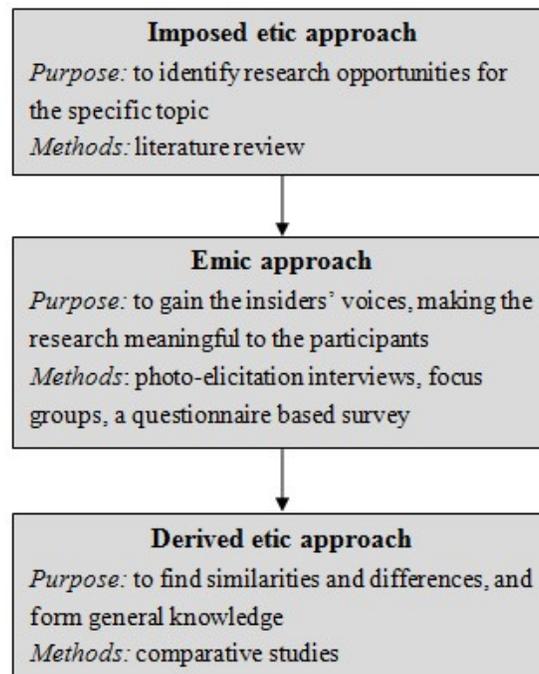


Figure 2. 2: The integration of the emic and etic approaches in this thesis

2.2.4 The conceptual scheme: Integrating the perspectives

Based on the understanding of each unit, this study argues that social representations theory, the SL framework, and the integration of the emic and etic approach complement each other when doing research in the tourism community relationships area. Social representations theory helps to understand how people “see” and organise their views of the tourism futures. The SL framework provides the content of what defines and constitutes their perceptions and preferences. It focuses more on the topics inside the social representations rather than providing a competing or parallel theory. However, their combination does not directly shape the behaviour of researchers in terms of how to approach their understanding of communities. The integration of the emic and etic approach offers a way to implement the theories and framework, particularly in cross-cultural studies as it helps elicit locally meaningful representations. And thus, it can act as the glue or connecting agent for the joint use of these two approaches (Pearce & Wu, 2010).

2.3 Research methodology

The conceptual scheme is appealing and intuitively sensible since the integrative system offers guidelines from different but complementary levels. It is important, however, to find appropriate research methods to further develop and implement these ideas. This is practically important for any research project.

This methodology section explores several research methods and considers their consistency with the overall conceptual scheme presented above. Indeed, choosing research methods means answering research questions and developing tools to generate evidence for its answers; both of these should be consistent with the paradigmatic and theoretical framework (Pink, 2007; Rose, 2007). Additionally, research with youth, especially the marginal youth, demands flexibility and creativity on the part of the researchers (Darbyshire, MacDougall, & Schiller, 2005). In this study, three methods were considered and selected, to make sure the ‘voices’ of the young hosts could be heard. These three methods are photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups interviews, and a questionnaire based survey. They are reviewed in turn in the following section.

2.3.1 Photo-elicitation interviews

2.3.1.1 What is a photo-elicitation interview?

The research technique of a photo-elicitation interview has arisen in a visual era, where visual images are ‘everywhere’ (Albers & James, 1988; Pink, 2007) and powerful in representations (Harper, 1989). Indeed, in many situations including daily interaction, where words fail, visual images ignite (Scarles, 2010). Photographs are the most common form of visual images used in the research context.

In 1967, visual anthropologist John Collier suggested photos can be integrated into the interview process, which has come to be known as the ‘photo elicitation interview’ (Collier & Collier, 1986). A photo-elicitation interview is different from the conventional sociological or anthropological interview. In this kind of interview, photos, rather than questions which may or may not make sense to the informant, become the focus of the discussion (Loeffler, 2004). With photos as the eliciting stimuli, the participants are immersed in a process of self-exploration and understanding. They work collaboratively with the researcher in a more equal and natural environment to portray, describe, or analyse a social phenomenon (Harper, 2002). During the interview, the researcher acts as a listener when the participant interprets the photograph for the researcher (Collier & Collier, 1986; Loeffler, 2004). In other words, photos and participants’ interpretation are perceived as raw material subject to the scholarly interpretation of the research (Goin, 2001). Photos and interviews work together equally to form a coherent understanding.

Methodologically, photo-elicitation interviews are broken into two major categories according to the origins of the photos. The first approach employs the researcher’s photos, and the participants make comments, explain their sentiments and add their knowledge on a specific topic (Pink, 2007). The other approach studies photos which are collaboratively produced by the participants. It is increasingly common to ask participants to take photographs (Harper, 1989; Pink, 2007), because the photos are not very meaningful unless they are related to the participants’ experience, knowledge and wider discourse (Pink, 2007). Additionally, photographs may not make sense to the interviewer in the same way they do to the participants (Harper, 1986). The taken-for-granted or commonplace in researchers’ eyes may be special in the participants’ world. To avoid the ‘bias of construction’ and produce a higher validity, having the

participants take photos and then offer their interpretation and voices is recommended (Pink, 2007). In this view, the contextual, cultural views and emotional content behind the photos can be established (Collier & Collier, 1986; Goin, 2001; Harper, 1986; Loeffler, 2004). Venkatraman and Nelson's (2008) research in servicescape and Liebenberg's (2009) study about teenage mothers supported the approach. Both research groups further asserted that the resulting narrative data is more closely linked to the realities and central aspects of the participants' lives. This thesis adopts the second approach in the field work, and empowering participants to interpret their own photos.

2.3.1.2 Photo-elicitation interviews and the research scheme

The inherent nature of photo-elicitation interviews is emic and contextual, which is consistent with the conceptual scheme's requirements. A reduction of the researcher's power in the research process is achieved by using the participants' own photos. The participant is placed in the role of the knowledge informant and can therefore advise, comment on and shape the conversation. This kind of interaction thus relieves the normal asymmetry in power between participants and researchers (Carlsson, 2001; Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002). Therefore, a general atmosphere of sincerity is formed, and the subject cooperation is higher. Empowering the participants to express themselves both through photo-taking and its interpretation, and shifting the focus from the participants to the photos, also overcomes some communication and cultural barriers in cross-cultural studies (Banks, 2001; Harper, 2002; Liebenberg, 2005; Pink, 2001). In situations when the researchers and the respondents have different first languages, the use of photos also decreases the language barriers (Yuen, 2004). In societies like China, where informants may be unaccustomed to talking about themselves (Ryan, 2011), this method is particularly useful and productive (Echardt, 2004).

In terms of other contextual considerations, incorporating images into research can improve the contextual accuracy and relevance of data (Liebenberg, 2009). That is, during the participants' photo taking, the emotional and contextual scenarios are elicited in a natural way. To conclude, photo-elicitation interviews fit well with the emic and contextual issues, and have the potential to improve studies of people and their settings, including tourism community relationships research.

2.3.1.3 Application in tourism research and adoption in this thesis

Image-based research is well developed within visual anthropology and visual ethnography (Loeffler, 2004) and is gaining increasing attention in education, community health, psychology, sociology and communication studies (Carlsson, 2001; Harper, 2002; Wang, 2003). In tourism, visual representations play a central role in people's perceptions of tourism places (Lo, *et al.*, 2011; MacKay & Fesenmaier, 1997; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Visual imagery methods are, however, still an unfamiliar tool for tourism scholars (Albers & James, 1988; Burns, Palmer, & Lester, 2010; Haldrup & Larsen, 2003; Keegan, 2007; Mason, 2005; Westwood, 2007).

One early study of visual image in research was conducted by Albers and James' (1988) who explored travel photos. They argued that travel photos can either serve as supplementary data or serve as a primary source of data for illustrating and illuminating aspects of the tourist experience and its associated travel environment. The tourism research community, however, was slow to adopt this method until 1990s. Pearce and Black (1996) advocated the use of environmental stimulation approaches, which included photo-elicitation interviews. Some select studies about destination images and visitor images research began to use these methods (Mellinger, 1994; Pritchard & Morgan, 2003; Yagi, 2003). Researchers reporting on the technique recommended it as a valid, rich, convenient and effective method (Brickell, 2012; Garrod, 2008). In 2003, Crouch and Lubben edited a book on visual culture and tourism. Later in 2004, the *Journal of Leisure Research* published a special issue on visual leisure (Stewart & Floyd, 2004). Recently, photo-elicitation interviews and related visual based techniques have gained popularity in tourism research (Garrod, 2008; Hunter, 2012; Pearce, 2011b; Scarles, 2010). It has been acknowledged that visual images both facilitate the "sharing of speech" and generate "sounds of silence", and thus facilitate an enriched research space (Scarles, 2010).

Stewart and Floyd (2004) and Pink (2007) argued that a visual approach can be either self-sufficient or complementary to other approaches. In this study, the photo-elicitation interview is used as a foundation method to establish rapport, to better understand the research context, and to offer emic data for focus groups and subsequent questionnaire survey work.

2.3.2 Focus groups

2.3.2.1 What are focus groups?

According to Krueger and Casey (2000), a focus group is about listening and gathering information in a carefully planned discussion on a defined area of interest in a permissive, nonthreatening environment. A typical focus group is usually made up of six elements: (1) people, (2) assembled in a series of groups, (3) possessing certain characteristics, and (4) providing data (5) of a qualitative nature, (6) in a focused discussion (Krueger, 1994).

Compared with other qualitative research methods, focus groups have some advantages. Firstly, due to its group nature, focus groups can increase the sample size considerably, bringing efficiency in using limited time and resources (Krueger, 1994; Morgan, *et al.*, 2002). Secondly, due to its unthreatening and encouraging atmosphere, focus groups work particularly well to determine the perceptions, feelings, and manner of thinking of consumers regarding products, services or opportunities (Krueger, 1994). In addition, due to the permissive, nonthreatening and interactive environment, the “talking story” style focus groups (Mayeda, Chesney-Lind, & Koo, 2001) are especially suitable for research when the respondents are children, youth, ethnic minorities, or the topic is sensitive (Mayeda, *et al.*, 2001; Morgan, *et al.*, 2002; Peek & Fothergill, 2009; Veal, 2006; Yuen, 2004). Further, focus groups can serve a social support function by allowing the participants the opportunity to share their stories with others and to develop a sense of solidarity with people who are going through similar experiences or have similar life circumstances (Peek & Fothergill, 2009). As a result, a number of scholars argued that focus groups work particularly well to provide insights into attitudes, perceptions, feelings, and the manner of thinking regarding an experience, idea or event (Krueger, 1994; Krueger & Casey, 2000; Peek & Fothergill, 2009).

2.3.2.2 Focus groups and the research scheme

Focus groups place people in natural and real-life situations (Krueger, 1994), thus the participants are able to interact with other participants who have certain common characteristics. The participants discuss some specific issues, without needing to develop a consensus, to arrive at an agreeable plan or to make decisions about which course of action to take. To some extent, this socially oriented research procedure is in

line with Tunnell's (1977) call for naturalness during social science research. It is also consistent with the assumption of social representations theory that individuals are a product of our environment, and that they do not form opinions in isolation (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Peek & Fothergill, 2009).

Due to the group dynamic and interactional processes, focus groups have the advantage of gathering a breadth of information from the research participants as they discuss various topics (Peek & Fothergill, 2009). Hence, the wider social and economic issues are reflected, which in turn aid the researcher to learn the vocabulary, identify domains of interest, specify their content, and discover the thinking pattern of the target audience, and subsequently represent them in a holistic way (Krueger, 1994; Lee, 1998).

To conclude, the focus groups interview is an emic research method, and is consistent with the essence of social representations theory. It locates the participants in a social and natural environment, discussing perspectives in their real life. If it is run in an appropriate way, it has great potential to access local voices.

2.3.2.3 Focus groups in this thesis

Focus groups are primarily used in marketing research in the private sector to gain customers' opinions on services or products (Krueger & Casey, 2000). They have also increasingly been implemented in the context of community-based participatory research, where group members are collectively empowered, and become the agents of change by telling their stories and suggesting strategies for collective actions (Fallon & Brown, 2002; Kieffer, *et al.*, 2005; Peek & Fothergill, 2009).

It is found that focus groups can function better by being supplemented by other data (Liebenberg, 2009; Morgan, *et al.*, 2002; Thyne, *et al.*, 2006). Liebenberg (2009) argued that incorporating photos in focus groups is especially effective in facilitating an exploratory research process for cross cultural research. In this study, selected photos taken in the photo-elicitation interviews are incorporated, because photographs offer a direct and sometimes a new way of seeing the world (Darbyshire, *et al.*, 2005). Rather than simple ideas or words being used to elicit responses, photos can also be a practical starting point for discussion (Hurdley, 2007). Visual materials can also sometimes evoke deep components of human experiences (Harper, 2002). In brief, the

photos in focus groups may enhance the data quality (Cavin, 1994; Gloor & Meier, 2000; Niesyto, 2000).

The insights from focus groups will facilitate the development of the follow-up questionnaire based survey. Photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups represent a logical progression in the cumulative effort to understand tourism community relationships. Further, they may also assist the interpretation of the subsequent questionnaire based survey results.

2.3.3 Questionnaire based survey incorporating picture scenarios

2.3.3.1 Why incorporate picture scenarios?

The questionnaire-based survey is widely used in social science research. Unlike the traditional questionnaires, containing lists of questions measured solely by Likert scales, the questionnaires in this thesis makes use of the meaningful picture scenarios.

Scenarios are stories about possible, alternative futures, incorporating human diversity, visions of the future, and uncertainty (Heemskerk, 2003). In a recent released special issue published by *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, the usefulness and consistency between scenario planning and sustainable tourism future were thoroughly reviewed and discussed (Gössling & Scott, 2012). Eight articles in this special issue systematically address the development of scenario planning for sustainable tourism, the links between scenario planning and forecasting, its role as a business-planning tool generally, and its use in tourism for destination planning and advocacy. These articles cover a number of areas, e.g. theorising scenario analysis (Moriarty, 2012), counter-factual scenario planning (McLennan, *et al.*, 2012), green economy support systems (Law, *et al.*, 2012), climate change and ski tourism (Steiger, 2012), climate change and coastal tourism (Scott, Simpson, & Sim, 2012), destination environmental footprint scenario tools (Whittlesea & Owen, 2012), and transition management as a tool for scenario building (Gössling, *et al.*, 2012).

It is gratifying to see the growth the adoption and application of scenario planning in tourism futures studies. However, it is noted that most scenarios are planned in a text-based way (Gössling & Scott, 2012; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Thyne, *et al.*, 2006), or use a story telling approach (Heemskerk, 2003; Visit Scotland, 2005; Yeoman, *et al.*, 2007a; Yeoman, *et al.*, 2007b). It is argued that the power of scenario study can be enhanced by some innovation, for example, scenarios can be constructed with visual images, e.g.

charts, tables, plans, maps, drawings, or even digital video (Tress & Tress, 2003). Tress and Tress' empirical studies in Denmark further indicated that a picture scenario technique is a powerful and persuasive tool to communicate the possible future changes. The effectiveness of this research technique is also supported by studies in other areas (Hulme, 2004; Pedell, 2004; Pedell & Vetere, 2005; Rocharungsat, 2005). Pedell (2004) labelled this creative method as picture scenarios. This thesis adopts this concept.

The scenario technique will be adopted in the questionnaire design using two building blocks. First, all the scenarios in the questionnaire survey are constructed based on the analysis of photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups. Hence, the construction of scenarios reflects the hosts' perspectives, and thus is meaningful to them. Second, the scenarios' story telling format is powerful in communicating, especially when the research respondents are non-experts or not well-educated (Fink & Oishi, 2003; Pearce & Black, 1996; Tress & Tress, 2003). Considering that the research respondents of this study are the Tibetan young hosts, who are not tourism experts and might possibly respond better to more concrete visual materials, picture scenarios instead of the text-based scenarios, are employed in this study.

2.3.2.2 Scenarios and the conceptual scheme

It is widely noted that pictures facilitate the interview/survey process, provoking a range of responses, bringing greater depth to the topics discussed, and enhancing the quality of data gathered (Daniels, 2002; Gloor and Meier, 2000; Harper, 2002; Pink, 2001; Schwartz, 1989). Thus, carefully constructed pictures as visual text adjuncts can not only have a decorative function, but also have functions of representation, organisation, interpretation and transformation (Carney and Levin, 2002).

Picture scenarios are, therefore, more concrete and understandable to respondents, and help form dynamic representations. To some extent, the creative combination of scenario technique and photographic visualization reflects the emic and contextual principles underpinning the conceptual scheme of the thesis.

2.3.2.4 Questionnaire survey in this thesis

In this thesis, questionnaires with picture scenarios are adopted. These pictures come from respondents in the previous sequence of research methods and reflect the local setting as well as creating some local familiarity. In this way, the approach recalls

previous scholars' claims that the useful indicators of a questionnaire survey should be its sensitivity to temporal changes and spatial variation (Kreutzwiser, 1993; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). Additionally, the picture scenario will be contextually sensitive. Different picture scenarios will be used for different study sites.

2.3.4 Integrating the methods: A sequence

To conclude, the photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups, and a questionnaire based survey are used in combination, and in a sequence which are designed to explore different questions posed by different elements of the framework.

In more detail, the photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups were firstly adopted and adapted as foundation methods to elicit and facilitate the exploration of the lived experience of the “Post 80s” youth and their preferences for tourism community futures. Based on the open-ended materials offered by the insiders, a questionnaire was then constructed. In this way, the questions will make sense to the respondents (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The questionnaire based survey ensures that some particularly important aspects can be explored in greater depth. The results of the questionnaire survey, when complemented with photo elicitation interviews and focus group responses, potentially offer a valuable insight and a more complete picture regarding tourism community futures in specific settings (Steckler, *et al.*, 1992). Figure 2.3 shows the logic of the adopted methodologies.

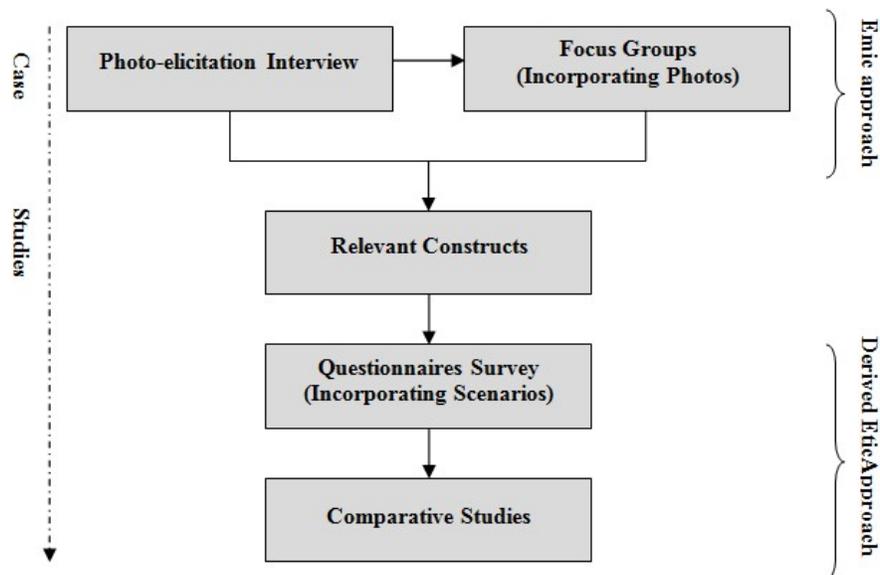


Figure 2. 3: Research methods adopted in a sequence

2.3.5 Linking the methods with the conceptual scheme

The research methods displayed in this section work systematically build on and support the conceptual scheme discussed in section 2.2. The connection of the two can be depicted in Figure 2.4.

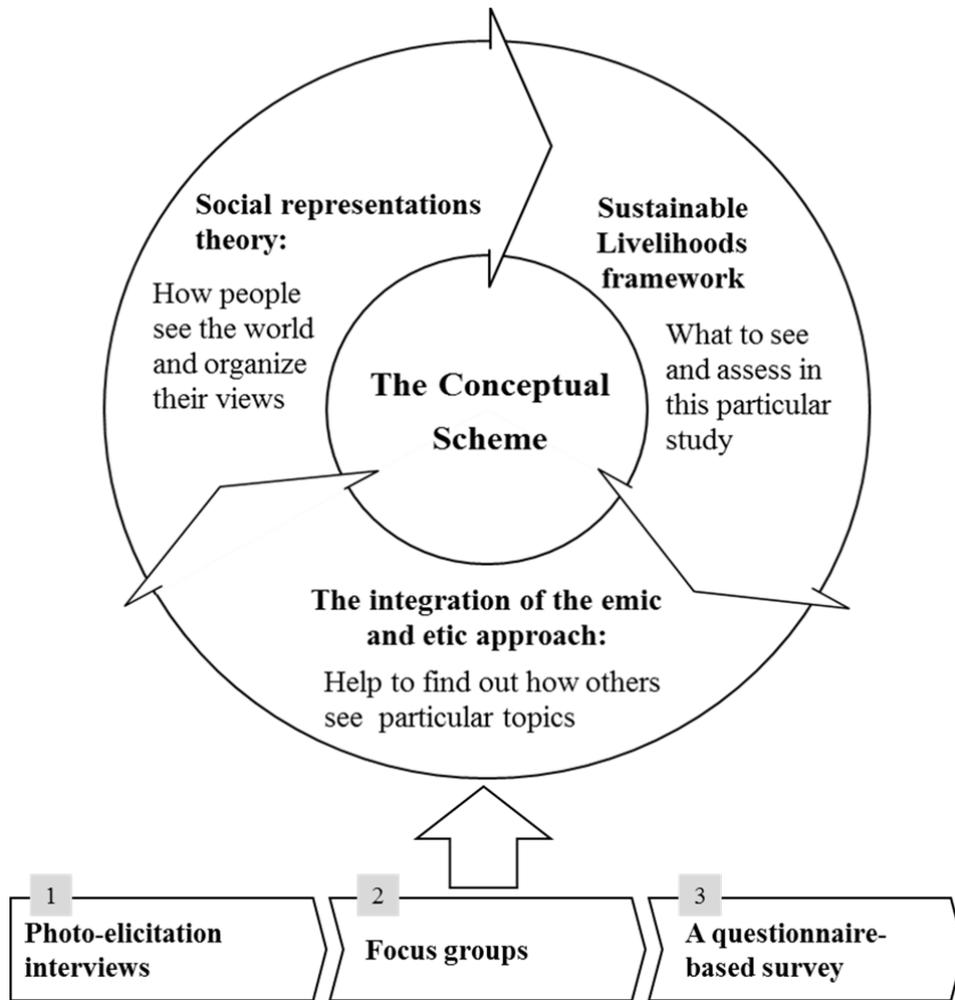


Figure 2. 4: The links between the methods and the conceptual scheme

2.4 Research Contexts

As the introduction of this thesis (1.1) indicated, this study focuses on the community level. It is the communities that experience tourism impacts at close quarters and thus have their own understanding of tourism and their preferences for its future. Two communities were selected in this study, one is the Old Town of Lhasa, and the other is Caigongtang Town, a suburban community in Lhasa (see Figure 2.5).



Figure 2. 5: The location map of the two study sites

Source: Edited by Yan-Bo Cheng at the request of the author, used with permission

It is argued that providing the contextual information about community tourism research is critical (Cohen, 1979b; Pearce, 2004, 2011a; Tao & Wall, 2009; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). Clearly, tourism takes many forms in diverse communities, its consequences are highly contingent, and reflect the specific forms and location in which it occurs. For these reasons, the specification of the context improves the communication among researchers and between researchers and policy makers. The study area of Lhasa is quite different from sites in developed countries. It is also different from coastal Chinese cities.

To understand the contexts of the study area, Liepins (2000) proposed a framework through four dimensions, people, meanings, practices and spaces. Similarly, to

understand tourism in a specific community, Wall and Mathieson (2006) provided a framework to understand tourism through the perspectives from types of tourism, characteristics of the destination, and nature of host-tourist interaction. This thesis incorporates both Liepins (2000) and Wall and Mathieson's (2006) ideas on presenting a community context.

The contexts description in this section not only address the tourism development in Lhasa, attention is also paid to the research respondents, the Tibetan "Post 80s" youth. Additional distinctive characteristics about each community are elaborated in the empirical chapters when necessary.

2.4.1 Tourism in Lhasa – The macro environment

2.4.1.1 Overall view of Lhasa city: The roof of the world

Lhasa, or "Lasa" in Mandarin, sits on the central part of the Tibetan Plateau, the well-known roof of the world in southwest China. It covers an area of close to 30,000 km² with 59 km² of urban area (Gao, 2007; Lhasa Municipal People's Government, 2009) (see Figure 2.4). Lhasa City has a population of 270,000 with 3 major ethnic groups. Indigenous Tibetans occupies 87%.

Lhasa is unique and miraculous for three main reasons (Wu & Pearce, 2012b). Firstly, with an average altitude of 3,658 m, Lhasa is the "world roof" (Gao, 2007). It is also the neighbouring region to Mt. Everest, which is the highest mountain in the world. In addition, Lhasa is the Holy City of Tibetan Buddhism. It is the religious centre of Tibet. Tibet is regarded as "Second Pure Land", second only to India, the land where Buddha and the Bodhisattvas originated and flourished in the past (Tiley, 1988). The capital city, Lhasa, without exaggeration, may well be called a Mecca of Buddhism. Buddhism, which has long permeated every aspect of its life and culture for 1300 years, still dominates many areas of life for local Tibetans (Murakami, 2008). Nevertheless modernization is also clearly evident in Lhasa and the tourism industry is a substantial contributor to this change.

Further, Lhasa has been and is the centre of Tibet in a multiple ways, e.g. the political, economic, cultural and religious core. Recently it has also been its tourism centre. With contemporary development, Lhasa offers most of the daily necessities, public facilities, and entertainment facilities that are now common in affluent modern cities in inland China (Fu, 2010). Thus, Lhasa is not only attractive to tourists, but also

appealing to the local young generation. At a larger scale, Lhasa is also the centre of exchange with outside world, including inland China, and foreign countries and areas.

There are distinctive Tibetan tourist attractions in Lhasa city, notably the three splendid world heritage sites (e.g. Potala Palace, Jokhang Temple and Norbulinka). For the reasons mentioned above, Lhasa is an attractive destination for both international (Mercille, 2005) and domestic tourists (Shepherd, 2009).

2.4.1.2 Tourism in Lhasa: A short but impressive history of 30 years

Modern tourism in Lhasa began in 1981 when Tibet opened its doors to the world. In the five-year plan initiated in 1991 large projects were designed to develop tourism facilities and services, such as the expansion of Lhasa Gonggar Airport in 1993, and the restoration of Potala Palace in 1994 and its inclusion on the World Heritage list. During the 1990s the number of foreign visitors increased dramatically, accompanied by an even greater increase in the number of domestic tourists. Subsequently, tourism was positioned as Tibet's pillar industry in the late 1990s.

If the increase of tourist arrivals in 1990s could be described as dramatic, the tourists' arrival in the new century, especially after the opening of the Qinghai-Tibet railway in 2006, is extraordinary in its speed and number (Su & Wall, 2009). It dropped to a very low point in 2008 because of social instability and the resultant access restrictions. It rebounded in 2009, and reached the number of 3, 206 million persons in 2009. The majority of tourists are domestic tourists from inland China. The overall development trend is reflected in Table 2.3.

Table 2. 3: Number of tourists in Lhasa City

Year	Tourist arrivals (person times)	Domestic tourist arrivals (person times)	Percentages of domestic tourists (%)	International tourist arrivals (person times)	Percentages of international tourists (%)
2005	1,060,000	973,000	91.79	87,000	8.21
2006	1,700,000	1,580,000	92.94	120,000	7.06
2007	2,740,000	2,590,000	94.53	150,000	5.47
2008	1,346,200	1,320,000	98.07	26,200	1.93
2009	3,205,800	3,102,600	96.79	103,200	3.21
2010	4,134,200	3,990,300	96.52	143,900	3.48
2011	5,132,000	5,016,100	97.74	115,900	2.23

Source: Lhasa Statistics Yearbook (Lhasa Statistics Bureau, 2012)

With the emerging affluence of the Chinese middle class (Murakami, 2008), their interest in ethnic tourism (Oakes, 1997; Yang, *et al.*, 2008), and a gradual loosening of travel policies by the central government since the 1980s (Fu, 2010), as well as Lhasa Tourism Administration's passion in attracting more tourists (Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting & Design, 2010), tourist arrivals in Lhasa are expected to keep growing.

Tourism plays an important role in Lhasa's weak and simple economy structure. In the past three years (2009-2011), tourism revenues accounted for more than 20% of the GDP and 30% of the tertiary industry (Lhasa Statistics Bureau, 2012). Additionally, Lhasa city was officially positioned as "an international city with distinctive plateau and ethnic characteristics" (Lhasa Municipal People's Government, 2009). Hence, the tourism industry in Lhasa is of strategic importance. Its growth or recession will directly affect the whole economy in Lhasa.

In Lhasa tourism, there is a notable feature that is not reflected in the tourist arrivals table, that is, its strong seasonality. For both the 'natural' (e.g. the cold climatic

condition and high altitude) and ‘institutional’ reasons (e.g. the concentration of cultural, religious and ethnic festivals and ceremonies; inadequate promotion of winter tourism) (Butler, 2001), July and August are the peak months. May to June forms one shoulder season and September to October forms another. The strong seasonality can be seen from the local tourism administration’s statistics (see Table 2.4). In 2010, visitation from May to October accounted for 91.33% of the annual visitation.

Table 2. 4: Monthly tourist arrival in Lhasa in 2010

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.
Tourist arrivals (%)	33214 (0.80%)	66725 (1.61%)	17626 (0.43%)	70898 (1.71%)	207170 (5.01%)	463198 (11.20%)
	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
Tourist arrivals (%)	919595 (22.24%)	1240712 (30.02%)	534907 (12.94%)	410112 (9.92%)	89447 (2.16%)	80627 (1.95%)

Source: Lhasa Tourism Administration (2011)

In terms of tourist background, it is evident that the majority of tourists are domestic tourists from inland China. According to a recent online survey about Lhasa tourism (BES Consulting & Design, 2009) and another on marketing issues (Survey on Lhasa tourism marketing, 2010), most of the domestic tourists are the recently emerging affluent middle class in coastal China and adjacent provinces. In addition, Tibetan pilgrimage participants comprise some of the market. Every year after the autumn harvest, they come to the old town of Lhasa to worship. The same surveys indicated that the domestic tourists in Lhasa are relatively young in age and well educated with high incomes. They visit Lhasa mainly for sightseeing, but also for business, VFR, cultural exchange and pilgrimage. Many of them choose individual travel, rather than joining a tour package.

For international tourists, the recent Master planning of Lhasa tourism (Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting & Design, 2010) indicated that the largest generating region for Lhasa was Europe, followed by Asia and North America, and

then Oceania. Most of the international tourists are experienced middle aged or senior package travellers, with good education and high income. International tourists visit Lhasa mostly for sightseeing, and also for pilgrimage, business, education and exchange. Most of the international tourists choose the old town as their first destination in Tibet and stay there overnight.

2.4.1.3 Two communities of great interest

This thesis does not focus on tourism in the whole Lhasa region. Rather, it assesses tourism futures at the specific community level as justified earlier. It is noted that people’s perceptions and aspirations towards tourism vary due to different developments (Tao, 2006; Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Ying & Zhou, 2007). To holistically understand tourism in Lhasa, two communities with different social economic background and tourism development stages were selected as the study sites. These two communities are the old town of Lhasa and Caigongtang Town. Table 2.5 briefly presents the profiles of these two communities. Detailed contextual information is provided in appropriate sections in the subsequent empirical chapters.

Table 2. 5: Brief information about the study sites

Items	The Old Town of Lhasa	Caigongtang Town, Lhasa
Nature of the site	The social, cultural, religious and economic centre of Lhasa	A suburban town
Economic basis	Tourism and handicraft making	Agriculture and husbandry
Population	81,219 in total, with 52,251 as migrants.	7152 in total, nearly all are ethnically Tibetan
Tourism resources	Cultural resources (e.g. 27 temples, 56 traditional Tibetan yards, and customs)	More nature based (e.g. green grass parks, creeks, and rural scenery)
Tourism development	Since early 1980s, a must visit; in a major development stage	Since 2004, in an early stage of development

Source: Lhasa Statistics Bureau (2012), Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting and Design (2010), and Tenbden & Li (2011)

2.4.2 Tibetan “Post 80s” in Lhasa

Migration as a phenomenon has been linked to tourism for a long time (McNaughton, 2006; Schellhorn, 2009; Shah & Gupta, 2001; Sheller & Urry, 2004). Relocation has also been a livelihoods diversification strategy since ancient times (Haidar, 2009). People from different areas of the country, sometimes overseas, move to the tourism destination for different reasons. The reasons include labour migration, return migration, entrepreneurial migration, retirement migration, and second homes (Williams & Hall, 2000). Lhasa as a rising tourism destination is not an exception. Migration has been an important phenomenon since the opening of the Qinghai-Tibet railway in 2006 (Ma & Danzenglunzhu, 2006). According to a local census, there are approximately 160,000 permanent residents and another 133,000 migrants living in the city area of Lhasa in 2009 (Lhasa Municipal People's Government, 2009). In the Old Town of Lhasa, the population is 81,129, however, only 28,968 of them are natives (Tudbden & Li, 2011). This population structure shapes our views and selection of the research respondents for this thesis, the Tibetan “Post 80s” youth. Consistently, it is found that there are two major groups of “Post 80s” in Lhasa. They are indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s” and migrant Tibetan “Post 80s”.

2.4.2.1 Indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s”

Livelihood and socialization experiences may lead to different attitudes with regard to personal and social concerns (Cheah, *et al.*, 2010). Indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s” youth do have their own characteristics when compared with “Post 80s” youth in inland China. Firstly, most of them are not the “product of one child policy”, because the Chinese central government grants some privileges, and encourages the population growth of certain ethnic minorities (Chinese Central Government, 2001). The average family size in Lhasa was 4.6 persons per household in 2008, while it was 3.16 at the national level (NBS, 2009). This figure clearly indicates that “One Child Policy” is not always applicable in Tibet, including Lhasa. For “Post 80s” Tibetan youth, most of them have one or two siblings. If they moved to Lhasa from other regions or the countryside, they may have an even larger family size.

In addition, they have not experienced the social and economic transition as much as their peers in inland China. Due to environmental, political and cultural reasons, Tibet did not launch the opening-up policy until 1984, while it was 1978 in other provinces in China (China Tibetology Research Centre, 2009). It was not until the Fourth Tibet Work Symposium in 2001 that the central government decided to extensively develop Tibet. The Tibetan economy and society had not developed and changed a lot until this symposium (China Tibetology Research Centre, 2009). Thus, it is fair to conclude that “Post 80s” youth in Lhasa had a relatively quiet and isolated childhood and adolescence, in terms of social and economic transition.

Further, compared with their counterparts in coastal China, the indigenous Tibetan youth tend to be brought up in more traditional families, with relatively lower income, fewer livelihoods choices, and a stronger religious atmosphere. In other words, they may have a stronger connection with traditional societies and/or rural areas. The urbanization of Lhasa, the capital city, is comparatively low but steadily increasing (14.48% in 2003; 40.59% in 2008) (Lhasa Statistics Bureau, 2012). This dramatic increase has partly resulted from migration.

Last but not least, the unemployment rate among indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s” youth is high. According to a survey by China Child and Youth Research Centre, the majority of unemployed people are youth, and the unemployed rate is increasing (Xu & Bi, 2005). The unemployment rate issued by Lhasa Statistics Bureau (2012) is 4.3%. It is suspected that the real unemployment rate may be higher, because it is common to see dozens of male youth in Tibetan tea houses during the day time, drinking, chatting, and playing poker, chess, or billiards. It may be difficult for some of them to find jobs due to low education and skills. Others may be not willing to work.



Figure 2. 6: Youth (mainly Tibetan) in Tibetan tea houses during the day time

Source: Photograph of the author

2.4.2.2 Migrant Tibetan “Post 80s”– “Lha-drifters”

As indicated previously, a high proportion of the population in Lhasa are migrants from other regions. Among migrants, nearly one third of them are aged 21-30 (Ma & Danzenglunzhu, 2006). These young migrants to Lhasa name themselves as “Lha-drifters”. They can be further divided into the three categories.

The first group is Tibetan migrants from other regions in Tibet and other Tibetan regions in neighbouring provinces. Since Lhasa is the centre of the Tibetan world, they and their family feel proud to live there. The second group is inland youth who have studied in higher institutions in Lhasa, such as Tibet University, and continue to live in Lhasa. A high proportion of these educated inland youth choose to stay in Lhasa due to different reasons (e.g. high competitiveness in their hometown, little connection with their hometown, falling in love with Lhasa, and/or more opportunities in this developing city). The last group of migrant youth are the fortune seekers from inland China, who move to Lhasa after finishing their education in other parts of China. Some of them travel to Lhasa and love this plateau city. Others come to Lhasa directly to seek fortune.

The exact number of the migrant youth in Lhasa city is unclear. However, it is worth noting that especially the later two migrant groups are very active and play significant roles in many aspects of development in Lhasa.

In this thesis, this group of young immigrants in Lhasa are labelled as **migrant Tibetan “Post 80s”**. They are *not* indigenous Tibetans who move to other regions of China.

2.4.2.3 Tibetan “Post 80s” youth: A summary

The two groups of Tibetan youth – indigenous Tibetans and migrant Tibetans - are very different in terms of demographic issues. Both, however, are affected and also contribute to Lhasa and its tourism industry. This study considers both groups as the research respondents, in order to draw a more complete picture of tourism futures in the young generations’ eyes.

It is worth noting that migrant Tibetan “Post 80s” primarily reside in the Lhasa urban area, which covers the Old Town of Lhasa. Very few of them live in the suburban or rural towns. It is suspected that the respondents in the Old Town of Lhasa will cover both groups of youth, while the research in the suburban town may only have indigenous youth as the respondents.

2.5 Research aims and thesis outline

2.5.1 Specification of the overall research question

On the basis of clarifying the research opportunities, the conceptual scheme, and the research contexts, the overall research question - *How do the Tibetan “Post 80s” youth assess tourism community futures in Lhasa, Tibet?*- has been specified into the three related sub-themes. First is the consideration of the young hosts’ views of the assets for future tourism development. Secondly the young hosts’ preferred involvement in tourism in the future is examined. And, finally the young hosts’ preferred outcomes which tourism may generate for their community and themselves are profiled.

All these research questions will be tested in both the Old Town of Lhasa (the urban site) and Caigongtang Town (the suburban site).

2.5.2 Research aims

Building on the specified research questions, the research aims are set out as:

Aim 1: To assess Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and inspirations about tourism assets and their future use in the Old Town of Lhasa.

Sub-aims:1.1: To identify how the urban youth gaze at tourism assets and how these assets can be employed for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa;

1.2: To reveal how different development assets influence the young hosts’ involvement in tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa;

1.3: To explore the contextual issues that directly influence young Tibetans’ perceptions and decisions related to tourism and its futures in the Old Town of Lhasa;

1.4: To examine the urban young hosts’ perceptions on tourism as a future livelihoods choice in the near future;

1.5: To analyze the young hosts’ aspirations about sustainable tourism outcomes in the Old Town of Lhasa;

1.6: To check whether there are distinctive social representations about tourism and its futures held by sub-groups within the community.

Aim 2: To examine Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and aspirations about tourism and their future use in Caigongtang Town, a suburban town in Lhasa.

Sub-aims: 2.1: To identify how the suburban youth perceive the tourism assets in their community;

2.2: To reveal how different development assets influence the young hosts’ involvement in tourism in Caigongtang Town;

2.3: To find out the suburban youth’s concerns on economic, social, and political issues that directly influence young Tibetans’ perceptions and decisions related to tourism and its futures in their community;

2.4: To assess the suburban young hosts’ representations towards tourism as a future livelihoods choice;

2.5: To examine the suburban “Post 80s” youth’s understanding and aspirations towards tourism outcomes in their community.

2.6: To evaluate whether there are distinctive sub-groups holding different representations towards tourism and its futures.

Aim 3: To compare “Post 80s” Tibetan youth’ perceptions towards tourism and tourism as a future livelihoods choice across the two study sites in Lhasa, which differ in socioeconomic background and degrees of tourism exposure.

Aim 4: To extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and the emic approach in a non-western context.

Aim 5: To identify future possibilities and research directions in adopting tourism as a livelihoods strategy in the context of regional development.

2.5.3 Thesis outline: Linking with research aims

To better achieve the research aims, six chapters are organized in this thesis (see Figure 2.7).

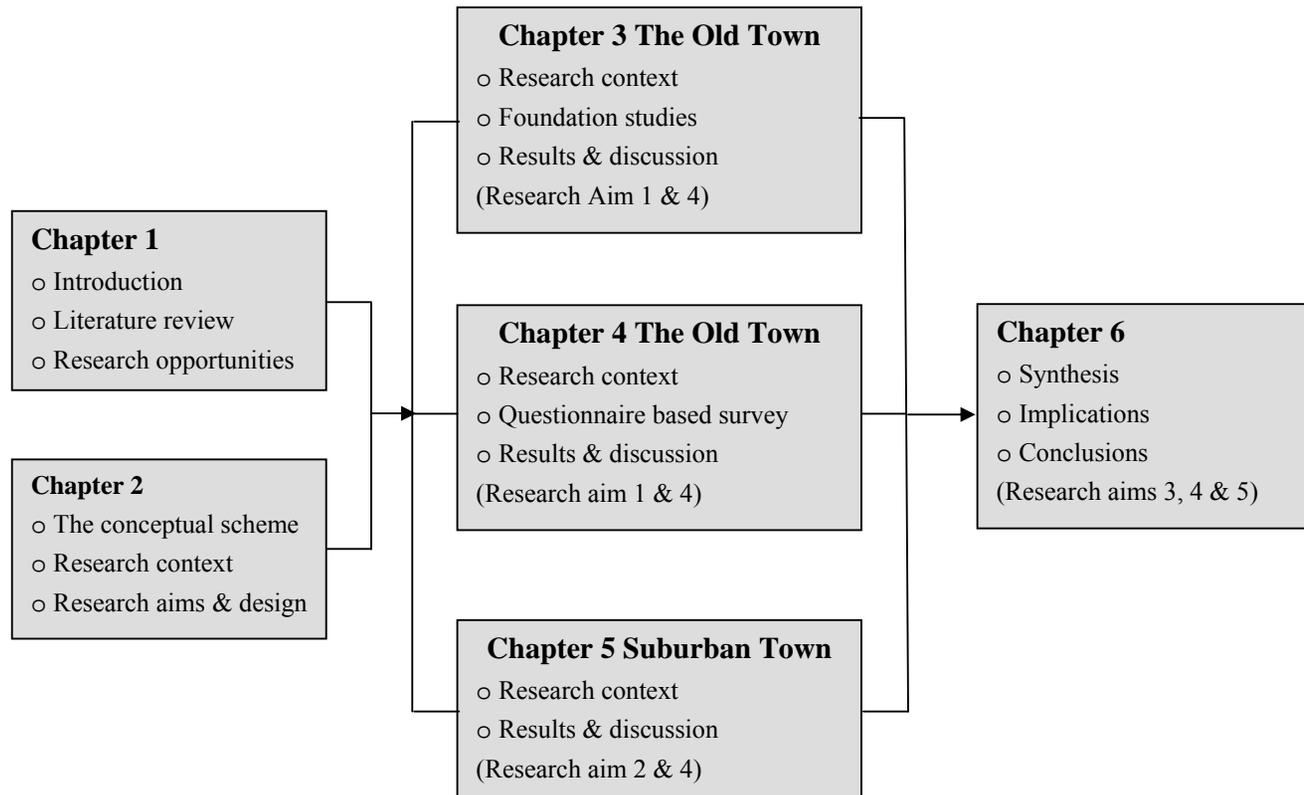


Figure 2. 7: The chapter outline of this thesis

There will be four chapters following the first literature review chapter and the present second research approach and context chapter. The following four chapters document the research process and research findings for the two study sites.

Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 are about assessing tourism futures by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in the Old Town of Lhasa. Chapter 3 presents the foundation studies through photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups, which are related to aims 1.1-1.5 and 4. The insiders’ voices from the foundation studies in Chapter 3 facilitate the construction of an effective questionnaire based survey study (Chapter 4). The survey-based study is also relevant to aim 1 and 4 but at a different level, which deepens our understanding of tourism and the society. It employs advanced statistical analysis with a holistic interpretation incorporating the broader cultural issues.

Chapter 5 is a supplementary study. It presents the ideas about how suburban Tibetan “Post 80s” youth perceive and evaluate tourism futures in their community. It responds to aims 2 and 4 listed in section 2.5.1. Since the research process in this suburban site is similar to that of the Old Town site, Chapter 5 principally presents the research results identified by the three sequential methods. The methods details are not repeated unless some different or adapted techniques are used.

The final chapter of this thesis responds to aim 3, 4 and 5. It firstly presents the synthesis of the research results, by comparing the various perspectives explored in both the Old Town of Lhasa and the suburban Caigongtang Town. It then summarises the contribution of this thesis. Special consideration is given to how this thesis seizes the research opportunities identified in Chapter 1. Before ending the thesis, observations are made on the limitations of this work and four potential areas to extend this work on tourism at the roof of the world are highlighted.

Chapter 3 –Assessing Tourism Assets and Future Livelihoods Interest: Foundation Studies in the Old Town of Lhasa

Chapter Structure

3.1 Introduction

3.2 Research Context

3.3 Aims of the Foundation Studies

3.4 Photo-elicitations Interviews Study

3.4.1 Selection and profile of the participants

3.4.2 Data collection

3.4.3 Data analysis

3.4.4 Findings from photo-elicitation interviews

3.4.5 Summary of photo-elicitation interviews

3.5 Focus Groups Study

3.5.1 Selection and profile of the participants

3.5.2 Data collection

3.5.3 Data analysis

3.5.4 Findings from the focus groups study

3.5.5 Summary of the focus groups study

3.6 Implications: Adjustment of the SL Framework in the Tourism Context

3.7 Summary of the Foundation Studies

3.1 Introduction

As outlined at the end of Chapter 2, this chapter presents a set of foundation studies in the Old Town of Lhasa city, which informs the subsequent questionnaire based survey

work (Chapter 4). In this foundation study, photo-elicitation interviews were initially carried out and analysed. Based on the acquired information and associated networking, focus groups were then designed and subsequently conducted. These two methods, carried out in a sequence, help to obtain the insiders' (emic) voices. Social representations theory was adopted to guide the overall design, and the SL framework was used to provide the content base for the questions being asked.

In this foundation studies chapter, the specific research aims will be clarified by presenting the contextual issues in the Old Town and describing its young inhabitants. Next, the ways in which photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups were organized in a sequence and analysed will be described. The highlights of this chapter are the research results from these two foundation methods and their implications for the next study, the questionnaire based survey.

3.2 Research Context: The Old Town of Lhasa

3.2.1 Distinctiveness of the Old Town and its tourism

The Old Town of Lhasa is the centre of the urban area. Geographically, it covers an area of 6.74 km², including four administration units with a population of 81,219 (Lhasa Municipal People's Government, 2009). It is the area within *Linkor* ring road, the outside "circumambulations road" for Tibetan Buddhists. The concept of circumambulations refers to the practice of the devoted Buddhists walking around the key religious temples in a prescribed circular route. It is the circled area in the Figure 3.1.



Figure 3. 1: The location map of the Old Town of Lhasa in Lhasa Urban Area

Source: Edited by Hanliang Li, based on Google maps, used with permission

Indigenous Tibetan scholars, Tudbden and Li (2011) summarized that the Old Town of Lhasa as having three distinctive characteristics. Physically, it follows the original structure of a traditional city, including the streets and architecture layouts. It is in this area, that 56 traditional Tibetan yards are well protected. They are still occupied and lived in by local residents. Secondly, at a spiritual level, the residents in the Old Town of Lhasa preserve their traditional lifestyle. Their devoted religious beliefs and their colourful daily life are current and attractive. It is in this area where 27 Tibetan Buddhism temples and Muslim monasteries, as well as the most historical commercial areas are located. Thirdly, at the developmental level, the Old Town keeps pace with the modern world. Major development of the public infrastructure (e.g. maintenance of the heritage sites, sealing the streets, provision of water supply, communication service, and sanitation facilities) has been undertaken since 1980. Moreover, it has formed its own distinctive industry system, with tourism occupying a central position. Tourism contributes substantially to the overall development of the Lhasa city.

As Tudbden and Li (2011) suggested, the Old Town of Lhasa plays essential roles in Lhasa, as well as for the Greater Tibetan Regions. The influence is especially strong for tourism. It is the most visited area, and also the must visit area for all tourists who ascend the Tibetan Plateau (Hu, Tubden, & Ciren, 2010). It is also the location where most tourists first encounter Tibet. An online survey of Lhasa tourism images of 391 participants reported that cultural heritage sites, including the Potala Palace as the major landmark, are the dominant perceived images of Lhasa (Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting & Design, 2010). The most well-known heritage sites are located in the Old Town area.

In terms of tourism development, the Old Town of Lhasa was the first area promoted to the outside world, and thus is the most mature destinations in Tibet. The exact number of tourists is not available for this specific area, because the statistics only record the tourist arrivals to the total urban area. In 2011, the urban area received 3.9 million tourists, while the whole Lhasa city welcomed 5.14 million tourists (Lhasa Statistics Bureau, 2012).

Lhasa Tourism Administration (2010) identified that the tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa has gone through an initial development stage (1981-1990), a recovery and growth stage (1991-2000), and is now in a rapid development stage (from 2001 till now). If located in Butler's widely cited life cycle model, tourism in the Old Town can be seen as in the rapidly rising development stage (Butler, 1980). At this stage, many tourists have heard about the destination and the numbers keep increasing. Meanwhile, outside interests have become involved by developing businesses and tourist facilities, and migrant workers have been attracted by the prospect of tourist-related jobs and have entered the community (Butler, 1980, 2006). The management of tourism community relationships at this specific stage of development is essential, as it will directly affect the development of following stages and the destination area (Butler, 2011).

3.2.2 Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in the Old Town

As revealed previously, tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa is in the development stage, and offers a number of opportunities. Consequently it has attracted a large number of migrant workers. Indeed, among the “Post 80s” cohort, a high proportion of them are migrant youth. The background of indigenous Tibetan youth and migrant Tibetan youth has been presented in Chapter 2. Both the groups play important roles in tourism development at present and will continue their roles in the future. Thus, both the groups will be taken into consideration in the Old Town site.

3.3 Aims of the Foundation Studies

The aims of this chapter derive from the sub-aims of aim 1, and aim 4, which are,

Aim 1: To assess Tibetan “Post 80s” youth's perceptions and aspirations about tourism and their future uses in the Old Town of Lhasa.

Aim 4: To extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and the emic approach in a non-western context.

This chapter, it is important to note, is not going to address all the questions related to

the above listed aims. More specifically, it assists in reaching these aims, which will be further explored in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. The most concrete aim of this foundation chapter is to obtain some insiders' (Tibetan "Post 80s" youth) voices on tourism and its development to guide the construction of the questionnaire based surveys. The specific and subdivided aims are:

- 1) To be aware of and sensitive to the contextual issues and underlying meanings of tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa. This specific aim responds to Aim 4. It will be achieved by personal observations, as well as interviews and focus groups with the research participants.
- 2) To elicit and identify potential assets for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa. This aim is related to sub-aim 1.1 (see p. 97 in Chapter 2), and it will be approached by photo-elicitation interviews.
- 3) To obtain wider information on development assets, contextual issues, involvement styles and perceived outcomes of tourism by a focus groups study. This particular aim is recalling sub-aim 1.2 and 1.3 (see p. 97).
- 4) To assess Tibetan "Post 80s" perceptions and aspirations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice. This aim is linked with sub-aim 1.4 (see p. 97) and will be achieved by focus group discussions.
- 5) To view the outcomes that Tibetan "Post 80s" value and seek to pursue in future tourism development. This issue will be discussed in the focus groups and is connected with sub-aim 1.5 (see p.97).
- 6) Finally, to adjust the SL framework in the Old Town of Lhasa tourism's context as an organizing framework, and provide information for relevant constructs for the questionnaire based survey. The core aim here is to provide relevant and systematic information for further investigation. This aim is highly relevant to aim 4. Both findings from the photo elicitation interviews and the focus groups will be used to achieve this aim.

3.4 Photo - elicitation Interviews Study

The photo-elicitation interviews study is the first component of the foundation studies. The procedures for how the photo-elicitation interviews were conducted and analysed are reported in this section.

3.4.1 Selection and profile of the participants

The initial intention for photo-elicitation interviews was to access indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s voices on tourism and community development. The author noticed, however, that the amount of migrant youth was surprisingly large when compared with the number of indigenous youth. And more importantly, they play important roles for tourism development. So, the author modified the original plan which was to focus solely on indigenous Tibetan youth, and instead also include migrant Tibetan “Post 80s” youth. The detailed information about these two groups was presented in Chapter 2.

In selecting the research respondents, this study adopted the following criteria that the potential participant:

- Was born in 1980s, that is to say, a member of “Post 80s”
- Was living in the Old Town of Lhasa, or has been working in the Old Town of Lhasa for more than 3 years
- Was willing to share his/her perspectives on tourism and community development;
- Was preferably fluent in Mandarin.

Since it was the author’s first visit to Lhasa, a city more than 4000 kilometers southwest of her hometown, she knew very few local citizens. She only had limited contacts with some staff in Tibet University and her Tibetan alumni, who pursued their higher education in tourism program in the same Chinese coastal university with the author during 2004-2008. Owing to the scarce contacts available and the fact that this study took place in the most politically and religiously sensitive area of China, a snowballing approach was adopted. These initial contacts became the windows for the

author to gain some local knowledge. Later, some participants were also introduced by these contacts.

In all, four participants were selected. Profiles of the participants are provided in the following table. The number of the participants is relevant with the data saturation.

Table 3. 1: Profile of the participants in the photo-elicitations interviews

Code No.	Ethnicity	Gender	Year of birth	Occupation	Length of stay (years)
L-I-1*	Tibetan	Male	1986	Civil servant	Local, 20+ years
L-I-2	Tibetan	Female	1981	Souvenir shop owner	Since teenage, 10+ years
L-I-3	Han	Female	1984	Airline Co.	Since university study, 7 years
L-I-4	Manchuria	Male	1988	Student	3 years

* The code for L refers to the Old Town of Lhasa, I to photo-elicitation interviews, and the number to the specific group. This information is used in documenting the source of later quotations.

3.4.2 Data collection

After getting in touch with the potential participants listed above, the author met all of them in a Saturday afternoon in a local Tibetan tea house. The aims of the research and the requirements for their participation were explained. Meanwhile, the author ensured that their participation was on a voluntary basis.

An information sheet in Mandarin (see the English translation at Appendix I) was delivered to each participant to assist their work. A disposable camera was given to each of them to take some photos concerning the specific topics. The suggested topics were varied, but related to the research. They were asked to think about a time span issue. That is,

- How many years into the future do people think about when they hear the word ‘future’? / How far into the future do people find it difficult to clear imagine

possible futures?

Further, these four participants were requested to take 10-15 pictures individually about the following topics:

- What kinds of resources/assets are available for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa city, now or in the future? The resources here are broadly defined, including natural assets, physical assets, human assets, and financial assets.
- What kind of tourism development styles would you prefer in the future?
- Are there any wider issues affecting tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa? For example?

The author insisted that there was no right or wrong photograph. In the present digital era, the participants were also encouraged to share their own photos, taken before the study, if they had some. Sharing the existing photos was time-saving.

Appointments were made with the participants in advance, so that they could interpret the meanings of the photos they were going to share with the author. These interviews were all taken individually in the same tea room in a Tibetan style Hotel. The hotel was transformed from the original residence where the relatives of the 14th Dalai Lama lived. This special site was chosen, because of its tranquillity and its richness in Tibetan culture. Three times out of four, we were the only guests in the tea room. This made the interview more private and the participants felt free to discuss any topics. The interviews lasted from 40 minutes to nearly two hours, depending on the participants. All of them were voice recorded, with the permission from the participants. The interviewees', as well as the focus group participants' responses were all carefully translated into English for the purpose of presenting their views in this thesis.

3.4.3 Data analysis

A qualitative content analysis was adopted in this session. Steps for data analysis follow Berge's (2007) approach (see Figure 3.2).

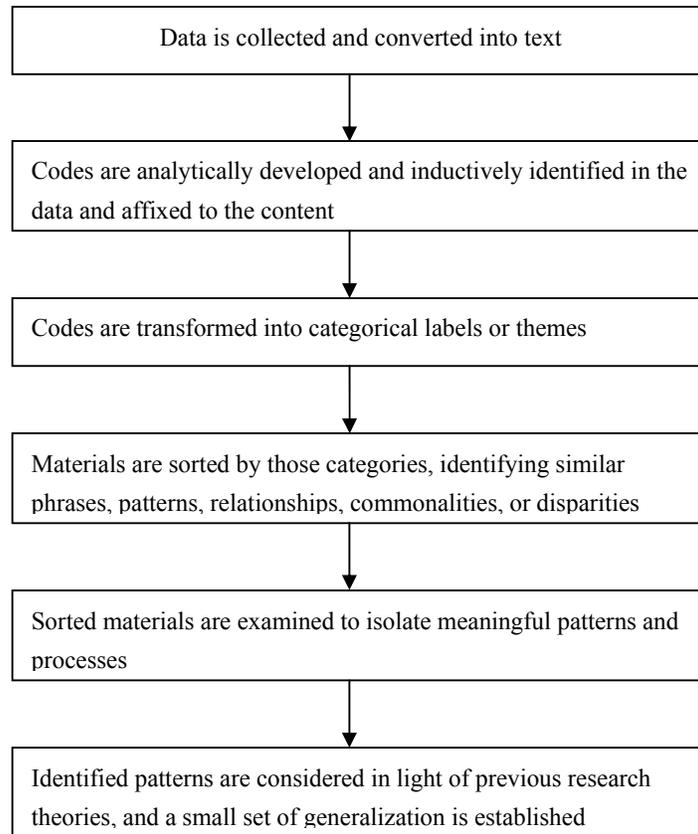


Figure 3. 2: Steps for data analysis

Source: Adapted from Berge (2007)

Qualitative methods, include content analysis, can be criticised because of an apparent subjectivity (Decrop, 2004). During the content analysis, special attention was paid to this issue, which can be addressed along four dimensions (see Table 3.2). The endeavour to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings in this phase was also applicable to data analysis in the suburban town site and focus groups data analysis.

Table 3. 2: Approaches taken to enhance the trustworthiness of the findings

Trustworthiness items	Specific approaches
Confirmability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews were voice recorded. Notes were also taken when necessary by the author. • A Tibetan master student was employed as an external auditor. The percentage agreement between his photo coding and that of the author’s matched between 83% and 98%, with an average of 93%.
Dependability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inclusion of photos during interviews, making them more natural and social • The voice record and notes were transformed into text after completion of the respective interview
Credibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Careful coding and indexing at the data analysis stage • Cross checked codes by involving a third party from Tibet University

3.4.4 Findings from photo-elicitation interviews

This section presents the findings of photo-elicitation interviews on the basis of the questions asked.

3.4.4.1 The future and its time range

In terms of time scales about the future, all the participants suggested that they were not accustomed to thinking about the future. The lack of familiarity with the concept of the future in their responses is consistent with the previous findings on youth images of the future (Hicks, 1996b; Slaughter, 1997; Tonn, *et al.*, 2006). The Tibetan male and the Han female said they would set personal targets and think about personal futures in 5-10 years, however, they seldom thought about the regional/national/

international futures. The Tibetan female and Han male regarded the future in a shorter term, which was 1-5 years. The Han male challenged the effectiveness of longer term thinking, because “we are in a turbulent society, and sometimes we just cannot control our destiny.” The Tibetan female participant considered the future beyond her own death, which is common in Buddhist thinking.

The perspectives held by these participants were quite different. The Tibetan male participant suggested adopting 5-10 years as a time period, since that temporal scale is in line with the one that the government and other organizations use when they made future plans in China. And hence, “we are more accustomed to this when considering some relative macro issues”. His recommendation was supported when the author conducted interviews with other participants. The word “future”, it seems, is interpreted by non-futurists much closer to the present than might be assumed by futurists (Tonn, *et al.*, 2006). In the following sections of this thesis, the future means the next 5-10 years.

3.4.4.2 Elicited assets from photos: Overall representations

During the photo-elicitation interviews, 13, 11, 10, and 15 photos were provided by the four participants respectively. The photos effectively reflected the participants’ responses to the second aim of this chapter, which sought to explore (potential) resources for tourism development now or in the future.

Integrating the participants’ explanation, these photos were classified into five main categories as showed in Table 3.3.

Table 3. 3: (Potential) resources for tourism development

Assets	Sub-assets	Images	Frequency
(Potential) tourism assets	World heritages	Potala Palace, Jokhang Temple, and Norbulinka	8
	Buddhist temples and monasteries	Dozens of temples scattered in the old town	7
	Tibetan residential buildings/architecture	Pokhang Hotel, Bandacang courtyard, and other buildings	9
	Tibetan customs & lifestyle	Tibetan tea house, cuisines, Tibetan opera performance, Tibetan night clubs, and traditional festivals and events	10
	Others	Tibetan traditional medicine, nice and clear weather	4
Physical asset	Improvement of accessibility	Qinghai-Tibet railway, railways/highways under construction	3
Financial asset	Savings, income, properties, fund, financial support	Houses close to tourist sites, bank loans	2
Social asset	Community cohesion, R&F support, characteristics of the nation	Community/regional events, joint photos with family members, and dancing Tibetans	3
Human asset	Traditional skills, friendly Tibetan,	Painting, waiving, sculpting, and singing	3

3.4.4.3 Specific images and interpretation about assets

(1) Potential tourism assets

Most of the photos were about tangible assets, especially the tourism attractions that had been developed or had the potential to be developed in the future. Following Cernat and Gourdon's (2012) concept of tourism assets, the identified sites are seen in this thesis as key resources which attract tourists to this specific destination.

Through the content analysis, these tourism assets were coded into five major categories. They were the world heritage sites, Tibetan traditional yards, Buddhist temples and monasteries, Tibetan customs and lifestyles, and others. Detailed information about these assets is presented below by both using the participants' photos as illustrations and by quoting their comments.



Figure 3. 3: World heritage sites in the Old Town of Lhasa

Source: Provided by the participants, used with permission

The first set of tourism assets identified was the world heritage sites (see images in Figure 3.3). According to the first interviewee, the Tibetan civil servant, “most of the tourists know little about Tibet and Tibetan culture. All they want is to collect some signs, visit some landmarks and take some photos.... These photos will be shown to their friends to demonstrate how brave and superior they are. Most of them don't understand, or don't care about the stories behind these heritage sites, yet, they are enthusiastic to visit them, no matter how crowded these sites are and how difficult it is to get a ticket during peak seasons.” His comment on these world heritage locations was supported by the fourth interviewee, an undergraduate in Tibet University, who worked as a part-time tour guide in the Tibet Museum. Their views towards the

renowned sites correspond with the report delivered by Lhasa Tourism Administration, which stated that these sites are hot spots, and they will remain popular in the future (Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting & Design, 2010).



Figure 3. 4: Traditional Tibetan residential buildings in the Old Town of Lhasa

Source: Provided by the participants, used with permission

Tibetan traditional yards were the second kinds of tourism assets suggested by the interview participants (see images in Figure 3.4). “Tibet has produced one of the world’s most unique and easily-recognizable forms of architecture”, suggested the third interviewee, a girl who gained her bachelor degree in Lhasa and was working for China Airline Tibet branch. “For example, this hotel (the one where we were having tea and conducting the interview) is very attractive to both tourists and architects.” “In my opinion, this has the most potential resource for future development. They can be transformed into hotels, restaurants, museums, theatres, and others. These buildings fully reflect the wisdom of Tibetan people, as well as the environment of the plateau.” After a pause, the girl added, “It doesn’t have much to do with the sensitive issues in this region. So the redevelopment projects will easily get approved, and hopefully support, from the government.”

The other two indigenous Tibetan participants also noted that these traditional buildings could be developed as potential attractions or facilities. The second interviewee, a souvenir shopkeeper, proudly asserted that, “you may have noticed that most of the souvenirs in my shop are much more expensive than these on stalls in the Barhkor Streets. Of course, better quality. Partly, because the room rent is higher. The core reason is that tourists like the atmosphere, the traditional interior design of my

shop and the feeling of buying authentic Tibetan souvenirs.” “These traditional buildings are good reflections of our culture. They are good places to understand and experience the real Tibet. I would like to see the character of this area protected and shared with others.”

Similar comments were made by the fourth interviewee. “I heard of some heritage planning jointly made by the tourism organization and others. I think it is critical to protect these historical buildings. It is the right move for the city.” “As far as I noticed, these Tibetan yards are disappearing at a fast speed. There were nearly a hundred of them listed as preservation sites by the end of 2000. However, only 56 are left at present. I believe that the cost of economic development should not be based on abandoning the past and degrading the urban characteristics and culture. ... Besides, from my limited contacts with the tourists, they like seeing these buildings, which are very different and exotic to them.”



Figure 3. 5: Tibetan temples and monasteries scattered in the Old Town

Source: Provided by participants, used with permission

Another category of tourism assets revealed by the participants was Tibetan temples and monasteries (see Figure 3.5). There are 27 temples and monasteries scattered in the Old Town of Lhasa, most of which are visited by local Tibetans living around the respective sites. They are seldom visited by first-time tourists.

When asked about his/her opinions on using Tibetan temples and monasteries to attract some tourists, the first interviewee replied, “These temples and monasteries belong to different schools of Tibetan Buddhism. They have their own distinctive history and characteristics. What’s more, they do not charge the entrance fees, which

is more consistent with our belief. We don't think that it is appropriate to charge everything from tourists. We hope people can stay here longer, and potentially, form some neutral or even positive impression of our culture. If they can recommend our hometown to their friends, or come back again, that would be fantastic.”

The third interviewee expressed her favourable impression of these religious sites from a different perspective. “I enjoy visiting these temples in the late afternoon time. I'm not a Buddhist. But these sites have some magic power. The atmosphere, the Buddhist sculptures, the butter lamps, and the Buddhism music make me peaceful. It is beneficial for both my work and life.... You know, modern life is very stressful for city visitors. They should come here, possibly, they can find themselves.”



Figure 3. 6: Tibetan customs and daily life (markets, tea houses) assets

Source: Provided by participants of this study, used with permission

A further category was the potential to develop Tibetan customs and daily life as tourism attractions (see Figure 3.6). The customs and daily life of Tibetans featured the most in the photos from the four participants. The souvenir shopkeeper (L-I-2, 2010) noted, basis on her contacts with tourists, that many tourists in Lhasa were authenticity-seekers and interested in small aspects of daily life. “They are not only interested in visiting a single famous site or a number of scenic sites, but also in exploring the 'context' where they were located.... They prefer staying in Tibetan style family inns, trying Tibetan meals, and experiencing Tibetan culture. Local markets, tea houses, restaurants, and Tibetan night clubs would be good choices.” The two migrant interviewees (L-I-3&4, 2010) also noticed their (potential) attractiveness. The fourth interviewee perceived that the daily life was real and very different from the

staged performance created especially for tourists.

In addition to the daily life resources, traditional festivals and events were regarded as potential tourism attractions as well. The second interviewee said, “There is at least one traditional festival each month in Lhasa. Most of them are related to the religion. You know, the Shoton Festival and Horse Racing Festival in summer, have been developed and successfully attracted millions of tourists each year. In my opinion, more festivals, like the Tibetan New Year, can be explored. ”

Finally, there were another four pictures elicited from the participants, showing their interest in Tibetan traditional medicine, and the nice clear weather.

(2) Other assets for tourism development

In addition to the (potential) tourism assets identified above, there were some other resources directly related to tourism development. They were physical assets, financial assets, social assets and human assets.

Physical assets are essential for development. The photos taken or selected by all the respondents were related to transportation, civil service and communication (see Figure 3.7). The opening of Tibet-Qinghai railway, the improvement of highways and roads between towns and counties were the most frequently mentioned issue. “Accessibility is the precondition for any development, including tourism. (L-I-1, 2010)”



Figure 3. 7: Examples of physical assets

Source: Provided by participants of this study, used with permission

Financial assets were also considered as necessary for tourism development. The

interviewees referred to financial assets mainly to the money or property needed for investment. The souvenir shop owner (L-I-2, 2010) took herself as an example. She was not able to operate her souvenir shop without the financial support from her parents. The Tibetan civil servant and the two migrants suggested that it was not a necessity to have their own money to set up business. In their opinions, they could apply for loans from local banks, or apply for assistance from funding organizations and NGOs in Lhasa. However, all of them admitted that it would be better if they or their family had a reasonable amount of disposable money.

Social assets were highly emphasised by the first and third interviewees (L-I-1&3, 2010). For them, social assets seemed to equate with how many people, and what kind of people they know. “Just like money, it’s not everything. But if you have sufficient money, you can do a lot of things freely. Social assets is not everything either, but it does help access to other assets. For example, if I know some people in the bank, it’s easier to get the limited loan (L-I-1, 2010).” “Our company (Tibet Branch, China airline) was much more profitable in the past. You know why? It monopolized the airlines between inland China and Lhasa. It got the operation priority because of its strategic relationships with the Civil Aviation Administration. This kind of relationships not only applies to organizations, but also to individuals. In Lhasa, if you know some key figures, probably, he/she can grant you the priorities in some areas. In the extreme case, others will be excluded from competition (L-I-3, 2010).” In addition to these issues, often known as “Guanxi” (personal networking and connections) in China (Lew & Wong, 2004; Li, Lai, & Feng, 2007), they also emphasised the collective and cooperative networks built on the relationships of trust. This kind of social networking enables participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives, the social capital understood in western countries (Putnam, 1995).

The first interviewee, who had visited inland China several times, thought Tibetans appreciate the traditional values, in particular, the harmonious relationships between man and man, and between man and nature. It is these traditional beliefs that make Tibet a Shangri-La and important for future development. The third interviewee (L-I-3,

2010), a migrant youth, appreciated the influence of Tibetan Buddhism in the community's daily life. She observed that Tibetans respected the senior people and leaders in the community and tended to cooperate with others. As a result, people in Tibet could do something amazing even though difficult.

Human assets are often regarded as the first capital for development (General Office of China State Council, 2006). In the Tibetan interviewees' eyes, tourism development in Tibet was deficient in human assets. "There are a lot of people who master traditional skills, like wall-painting, carving, weaving, dancing, and singing. There are also many Tibetan youth, who have completed higher education and understand a bit about modern management." However, there seems to be a lack of an enabling environment which "creates development opportunities and puts the right person in the right place".

Different perspectives were offered by the migrant interviewees (L-I-3&4, 2010). They admitted the importance of traditional skills mastered by the locals. Meanwhile, they emphasised that the migrants, who had a better educational background and were more qualified, could undertake a lot of jobs, particularly in marketing areas, to foster tourism development in Tibet.

3.4.5 Summary of photo-elicitation interviews studies

Four "Post 80s" youth, consisting of two indigenous Tibetans and two migrant Tibetans, participated in the photo-elicitation interviews study. Together they provided 49 photos, and identified assets for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa, Tibet. Based on the participants' views, this thesis defined the future as 5 -10 years. This temporal scale is consistent with the youth' ability to think forward, as well as the period routinely adopted by different levels of government and organizations in China.

By examining the photos taken and the interpretation offered by the local youth, this study tentatively identified several assets for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa in the next 5-10 years. The primary one is tourism assets, which comprises the

world heritage sites, the traditional Tibetan buildings, Tibetan temples and monasteries, Tibetan customs and daily life, and others. Other assets include physical assets, financial assets, social assets and human assets. The coding of these assets will be tested in the next study, using focus groups, and if necessary, will be adjusted.

From the story-telling style of the photo-elicitation interviews, some contextual issues emerged. The first and most obvious one is their perceptions of (potential) tourism attractions. For example, most of them believed that Lhasa has more than the world heritage sites, which had been developed at the time of the research study. They thought that Lhasa is a living dynamic city with a lot to experience, such as the Tibetan traditional buildings and its culture, Tibetan customs and daily life. For another example, the influence of Buddhism in their views of development options and approaches was noted. Further, they demonstrated the influence of Confucian ideology, including the emphasis of “Guanxi” as an important part of social capital, and the importance of harmonious relationships. They also highlighted the political and religious issues, which should be considered seriously, rather than ignored.

For indigenous Tibetan and migrant Tibetan “Post 80s”, there were some differences due to their different background. For example, the participants held quite different views on the values of the religious sites and the supply of human assets. All these participants were, however, merely indicative of topics and issues, because there were only four participants at this stage. More information will be gained in the focus groups study and questionnaire survey study sections.

3.5 Focus Groups Study

Following the identification of the (potential) assets for tourism development from the photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups were conducted to discuss further the topics of assets, contextual issues, potential development strategies and preferable outcomes.

3.5.1 Selection and profile of the participants

Key-informant recruitment was adopted as the major technique to obtain the

participants (Peek & Fothergill, 2009). The first two key informants were the first and third interviewees during the photo-elicitation interviews. Due to their supportive attitudes, the author advised them of the coming focus groups and asked whether they could help again in recruiting appropriate participants through their networking. Positive replies were gained from both of them.

Another key informant in Lhasa was a manager in a Tibetan Hostel. The author visited her in the early morning of 7th April when she was holding a regular daily staff meeting. The author delivered fliers to all the young employees and invited them to join in the focus group. Finally, four of them agreed to participate.

The last group was organized with the support from a Han civil servant. This individual achieved his bachelor degree in Tibet University, had passed the civil servant examinations, and was working for Lhasa Development and Reform Bureau at the time of this research. The contact resulted from a chance meeting. The individual accepted the author's invitation to act as liaison person, because he had a few friends and classmates working in different industries in Lhasa.

The engagement and support of these key-informants was crucial, given that the author was an "outsider" to the community and had very limited pre-established relationships with local people prior the beginning of the research. The key informants, however, had strong connections to the community of interest. Without their support, recruiting participants in an unfamiliar community will have been very difficult, and even impossible.

In summary, with the key-informants' assistance, four focus groups were organized (see Table 3.4).

Table 3. 4: Profile of focus groups in the old town of Lhasa

Group	Ethnicity of members	Major occupation	Number of participants	Date	Length
L-FG-1*	Tibetan	Educated, stable jobs in government	5 (2 male, 3 female)	10/04/10	92 mins
L-FG-2	Han	Various areas of tourism industry	6 (3 male, 3 female)	11/04/10	67 mins
L-FG-3	Tibetan	Hostel	4 (female)	14/04/10	49 mins
L-FG-4	Han	Work in different areas in Lhasa after education there	5 (3 male, 2 female)	17/04/10	62 mins

* The code for L refers to the Old Town of Lhasa, FG to focus groups, and the number to the specific group. This information is used in documenting the source of later quotations.



Figure 3. 8: Focus groups in the Old Town of Lhasa

Source: Photographs of the author

For all the focus groups in the Old Town of Lhasa, the key informants made use of their existing friendship or sub-community groups. The pre-existing friendship or sub-communities helped group members to engage freely with one another within the natural social context in which ideas were formed and discussed, and to validate information more readily. This technique follows Krueger and Casey's (2000) advice

on establishing a comfortable environment of peers for focus group work.

When using their pre-existing friendship, all the key informants were informed of the basic criteria for recruiting their friends and neighbours as participants, to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of focus groups at the beginning. The criteria for participating in focus groups were:

- “Post 80s” youth, that is those who were born in 1980s;
- Characterised by a shared culture with you (the key informant) (e.g. ethnicity, education background, work experience, etc.)
- Was open-minded and willing to share his/her perspectives with a researcher;
- Was preferably fluent in Mandarin (the official language of China).

The second criteria was listed to make sure that group members were characterised by a shared culture, since minority voices can be muted within the context of ‘the majority’ or ‘general population’ groups (Fallon & Brown, 2002). In other words, homogeneity of background and experience was desired within a group. Homogeneity facilitated the participants having something to say and feeling sufficiently comfortable to disclose their opinions willingly. The fluency in Mandarin assured that the author understood the meaning of their discussion. Nearly all Tibetan youth speak Mandarin though some are less fluent than others.

3.5.2 Data collection

The author empowered the key-informants to recruit reliable participants. Meanwhile, she kept in touch with them, making sure that everything went as planned. Most of the focus groups were held during the weekends, except the third one held in a hostel, where all the participants worked.

Since the participants of each group were in pre-existing friendship or sub-community groups, venues already in regular use, such as open air with grass (known as “*Linka*” in Tibetan and loved by them), tea houses, and restaurants in a hostel, were chosen as sites for the focus groups. The familiar surroundings helped allay any fears associated

with the focus group exercise, and could possibly encourage additional disclosures. Butter tea and local snacks were served to make the participants feel comfortable and natural. Sometimes, photos elicited from last interview session were used as stimulation for discussion, because “where words fail, visuals ignite” (Scarles, 2010, p. 905). These preparations helped maximize the quantity and quality of the data gathered.

During all the focus groups, a research assistant from School of Foreign Studies and Tourism in Tibet University was hired. Both the author and the assistant attended all the focus groups. The author acted as the moderator. Her roles during the focus groups were to guide the discussion from topic to topic, probe and encourage discussion and ensure that all participants contributed their views. The assistant mostly remained silent, made some notes, recorded the group interaction and non-verbal behaviour during the focus group, and helped administratively. If necessary, he helped translate between the author and participants.

The focus groups were carried out in more or less the same way. They started by welcoming the participants and thanking them for their time. Next, the author and the assistant introduced themselves, briefly described the purpose of the focus group and the larger research program, how the data would be handled, and how the study results would be used. After delivering a Mandarin information sheet (see the English translation at Appendix II), the researcher explained that the interview would last approximately for an hour, that it would be voice recorded for transcription purposes only, and that all the names would be kept confidential. The author encouraged equal participation by reminding the participants that “there are no right or wrong answers, but rather differing points of views. ... We are not going to achieve consensus. We are just as interested in negative comments as positive comments, and at times the negative comments are most helpful.” The researcher also suggested that things would go more smoothly if only one person spoke at a time.

Based on the information gained from photo-elicitation interviews, more detailed and contextual questions were discussed during the focus groups session. After using

introductory questions to get the participants talking, the following open-ended questions were posed in the focus groups.

Q1: What are the major attractions in the Old Town that attract people from thousands of miles away? / Which places will you show your friends around if they visit Lhasa?

This question was asked to detect the (potential) attractions in the Old Town of Lhasa. Photographs from previous photo-elicitation interviews were used as prompts or guides.

Since many of the participants were not familiar with tourism terminology, such as destination attractiveness or attraction power, an alternative question was provided to gain similar information.

Q2: For the attractions/places you just discussed, what do you think of their value in tourism development in the future?

This sequential question was asked primarily to gain their perceived value of the tourist assets they discussed earlier.

It was planned that those with a relatively high value would be adopted for scenario planning in the questionnaire based survey.

Q3: Some of the attractions/places discussed above have not been developed for tourism, what's your opinion in using them for tourism?

This question was asked not simply to find out their degree of willingness to support future development of specific (potential) tourism assets, but also to identify some natural vocabularies in the reasons why and how these opinions come into being. In this way, the contextual issues might be explored.

Q4: What kind of development style/approach do you prefer? Is there any activity you would like to design in these places, or based on the issues mentioned above?

This question was asked to stimulate some local knowledge, which in later work

could be merged into development styles and reflect the preferences of the Tibetan youth. Information gained from this question was seen as potentially helpful for future planning and development.

Q5: What are your images of visitors in Lhasa? If you can choose any kind of tourists, do you have any preferable group?

This question sought local understanding and classification of tourists and the reasons behind this “host gaze”.

Q6: To be involved in tourism development, are there any economic assets that are very important?

This question was designed to access the participants’ understanding of economic assets. For example, to find out what kind of economic assets they thought were important, which ones they had, or were short of, as well as channels that they could use to obtain these assets.

Q7: To be involved in tourism development, what human assets do you and your communities have and not have?

Human assets are not as visible as the economic assets asked in the previous question. This question focused on their understanding of human assets status in Lhasa relevant to tourism development and possible approaches to enhance the quality of human assets.

Q8: Are there any social assets that are indispensable or beneficial for tourism development?

Social assets are mostly invisible assets but have gained great recognition in the development progress (Ahlerup, *et al.*, 2009; Bebbington, 1999; Putnam, 1995). Social assets are believed to be most related to the culture of the research contexts (Lew & Wong, 2004). This question was asked to stimulate some Tibetan issues, possibly the Confucian and Buddhist ideology’s effects on both tourism-related collective actions and individual actions and thoughts.

Q9: Is there any social character that is positive to tourism development in Lhasa?

This question was inspired by the report “Bhutan 2020” issued by the Royal Government of Bhutan in the Himalaya Region (RGoB, 1999). It stressed the personality of the nation as the greatest social capital for sustainable development. Thus this question was asked to detect the positive or special nature of Tibetans, which could be beneficial for its development, including tourism.

Q10: What do you think of working in the tourism industry? /What do you think of tourism as an income source? Which sub-sectors will be your choices, or your recommendations to your friends?

These questions were raised to gain the young hosts’ attitudes on tourism as a livelihoods strategy, or its use for livelihoods diversification. The perceptions and potential prejudice towards social division and career choices might be reflected by answers to this question.

Q11: In terms of tourism development, are there any obstacles? / If you would like to be involved in the tourism industry, what kind of challenges will you face?

This question had the potential to explore the wider contextual issues related to tourism development in Lhasa, including the vulnerability contexts from both the micro and macro society.

Q12: What kind of tourism development do you think is sustainable for the Old Town of Lhasa?/ What tourism impacts do you think are positive to the long-term development of the Old Town?

This question was included to elicit the participants’ expectations from tourism development, and to reflect their values and world views towards development. ‘Sustainable’ was viewed as a fuzzy word and was sometimes difficult for the hosts to understand (Ioannides, 1995; Wall, 2007). Under this scenario, the second question was suggested as an alternative.

In this study, when possible, the focus groups were carried out in a consistent manner

in an effort to increase the reliability and validity of the results. However, if new themes developed from the earlier focus groups, the discussion questions were adapted to accommodate these emerging ideas. At the end of each question or summary, the author asked if there was anything they would like to add or if she had missed something. The focus groups lasted from 49 mins to 92 mins (see Table 3.4). They ended with the author's appreciation of the participants' support and provision of her contact information. She encouraged them to get in touch with her if they thought of anything that they had forgotten to say.

3.5.3 Data analysis

Most of focus groups were transcribed within a week after their completion. The transcription was done in Madarin. Subsequent analysis and presentation of quotes and voices was re-expressed in English as required. Furthermore, the transcripts and notes were reviewed before conducting the next focus group. In this way, emerging topics in the previous focus group could be discussed and the overall quality of focus group information could be enhanced.

Analysis of focus group data is particularly difficult. It has been relatively neglected in the literature to date, especially when compared to the amount of 'how to' information available on designing and conducting focus groups (Carey, 1995; Fallon & Brown, 2002; Peek & Fothergill, 2009; Rabiee, 2004). Some commonly adopted analytical approaches include: phenomenology (van Manen, 1990), grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), content analysis (Krippendorff, 1980), and narrative analysis (Reissman, 1993).

Krueger and Casey (2000) suggested that the analysis of focus groups should be systematic, sequential, verifiable, and continuous. This study adopted Krueger's (1994) 5-step framework. The 5 steps are familiarisation, themeing, indexing, charting and interpretation. This framework provides a clear series of steps, and thus is helpful to manage the large amount and complex nature of qualitative data. An adequate description of the analysis process increases the credibility and usefulness of the

results (Carey, 1995). The procedure adopted to analyze the data is therefore described concisely as follows.

The first stage was familiarisation with the data collected. It was achieved by listening to the voice records, reading the transcripts and the observational notes taken during the focus groups. The summary notes written immediately after the focus groups were reviewed. By doing so, the author gained a sense of the focus groups as a whole before breaking it into parts. During this stage, the major themes began to emerge.

The next stage was identifying a thematic framework by writing memos in the margin of the text in the form of short phrases, ideas and concepts arising from the texts. This helped to develop categories. At this stage, descriptive statements were formed and an analysis was carried out on the data under the questioning route. The third stage, indexing, including sifting the data, highlighting and sorting out quotes and making comparisons both within and between focus groups.

The fourth stage was charting. It comprised lifting the the quotes from their original context and re-arranging them under the newly-developed appropriate thematic contents. Indexing and charting can also be viewed as organizing and managing the data. It reduced data by comparing quotes and contrasting data and cutting and pasting similar quotes together.

The final stage was interpretation. It aimed not only to make sense of the individual quotes, but also to see the relationship between quotes and the links between the data as a whole, and the links between the data and focus group objectives. During the data analysis, the primary aim of focus groups, which was to obtain a natural vocabulary for instrument development and contextual information for further discussion, was kept in mind.

For the analysis of focus groups data, Carey (1995), Rabiee (2004), and Dudley and Phillips (2010) suggested that it is inadequate if we merely count the frequency of responses on a given topic that arises. In this thesis, Krueger and Casey's (2000) five headings, frequency, emotions, specificity of responses, extensiveness, and big picture,

were adopted as the framework to organize the interpretation.

During the data interpretation, the author kept reminding herself to be open to the alternative explanations and to accept whatever the data reveals. To enhance the validity, several actions were taken, including,

- Ideas emerged in the previous group were discussed in the next group(s).
- For the first two groups, the transcripts were shown to at least one participant in the group. All the coding results were shared with at least one participant in each group, to minimise “mis-representation”.
- A process of continually revisiting the voice records, transcripts, field notes and simultaneous memos was adopted, to appreciate how meaning was grounded in, and constructed through discourse practice that was contextually, culturally, and individually related.
- A Tibetan Master student in Zhejiang University was involved in coding for tourism assets, images of tourist and development assets sections in a focus group. That was the discussion of Question 1-9. The percentage agreement between his coding and that of the author’s matched between 85% and 97%, with an average of 92%.

3.5.4 Findings from the focus groups study

The findings of this section were organized based on the questions discussed during the focus groups.

3.5.4.1 Tourism assets

Questions 1-4 (listed below) focused on (potential) tourism assets and their related information. They were explored sequentially in the focus groups.

Q1: What are the major attractions in the old town that attract people thousands of miles away? / Which places will you show your friends around if they visit Lhasa?

Q2: For the attractions/places you just discussed, what do you think of their value in tourism development in the future?

Q3: Some of the attractions/places mentioned above have not been developed as tourism attractions, what are your opinions in using them for tourism?

Q4: What kind of development style/ approach do you prefer? Is there any activity you would like to design in these places, or based on the issues mentioned above?

Six categories of tourism assets were identified during the focus groups. The list below indicated the broad headings. Compared with the results of the photo-elicitation interviews (see Table 3.3), Tibetan medicine was highlighted and included as a new theme.

- Potala Palace and other world heritage sites
- Religious sites, mainly temples and monasteries
- Tibetan buildings and architecture & urban designing
- Tibetan customs and daily life
- Tibetan festivals and events
- Tibetan traditional medicine

There was inevitably some overlap among the (potential) attractions mentioned above. The tables below depict some detailed features of these tourism assets as perceived by the participants, including the frequently adopted descriptive phrases, their perceived values and their desirability for development (see Table 3.5 to Table 3.10). Hegemonic representations were observed for some of the tourism assets (e.g. world heritage sites), while emancipated representations and polemical representation also emerged among different the young hosts with different social economic background (e.g. religious sites, daily life and customs as tourism assets).

Table 3. 5: World heritage sites as tourism assets (focus groups)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-1	7	Landmarks; heritages from our ancestor, reflection of our society and system	Very valuable (5)*, valuable (4)	Very desirable (2), desirable (3), not desirable (5)
L-FG-2	10	Well-known; landmarks; must-visit; crowded;	Very valuable (11)	Very desirable (4), desirable (5)
L-FG-3	5	Soul home; holy; visitable in winter;	Very valuable (7), valuable (2)	Desirable(4), neutral (5), not desirable(3)
L-FG-4	16	Must-visit; dream place; well-known; historical; splendid; grand;	Very valuable (7), neutral (4)	Very desirable (3), neutral (4)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

Members from the second and fourth group, who were originally from inland China, attached more importance and value to the world heritage sites as tourism attractions. Several participants in the second group, which consisted of migrant Tibetan youth in tourism industry, noted that Potala Palace and other world heritage sites were landmarks and “must-visit” in Lhasa, no matter how crowded they were. “They are the most valuable tourism attractions in Lhasa. Lhasa, without them, is no longer Lhasa.” “These are the signs that tourists would love to collect once you arrive at this plateau.”

It was the fourth group that paid most attention to these world heritage sites. One participant in this group stated that “Potala Palace is the most well-known attraction in inland China. It is the most splendid palace at the roof of the world. We learnt about it from the textbook when we were still in the primary school, and always look

forward to seeing it. ... It is the dream place of many people in other regions. Whenever my friends visit Tibet, I will proudly show them to Potala Palace first.”

“Yes, whenever I tell my friends I’m working in Lhasa, they equate it with Potala Palace and Mount Everest. They are our landmarks and must visit For tourism development in this area, we should make full use of their reputation.” His comment was supported by another member in the group.

Another difference was noticed between the content of world heritage sites. Indigenous Tibetan groups (L-FG-1&3, 2010) devoted much attention to Jokhang Temple, the centre of the Old Town and spiritual home to all schools of Tibetan Buddhists. One member in the first group said, “Jokhang Temple is our soul home. Many of my relatives and friends from thousands of miles away come to find their soul, worship the gold Sakyamuni statue in the temple and pray for a good future life. Many Tibetans circumambulate it in the morning and in the evening. Without exaggeration, it’s the best place to understand our life and our belief.” For the migrant groups (L-FG-2&4, 2010) members, they were more interested in Potala Palace. Arguably this basic difference might be related to their non-religious belief status.

In terms of the desirability for development, the migrant groups held more positive attitudes than the indigenous groups. Some members in indigenous groups commented,

“These heritage sites go beyond heritage. They are the most holy places for us. ... Though we are exempted from the entrance tickets, sometimes I feel reluctant to go there, because they are full of tourists wandering around and gazing at us.”

“I will go there late afternoon when tourists are not allowed to visit. I like people from outside, but not in an overwhelming number.”

“These world heritage sites, in essence, are religious places. When I see tourists who are looking around curiously, I feel ashamed to connect these most holy spiritual places with the commercial activities.”

These views above reflect the indigenous Tibetan participants’ concern about capacity.

They also demonstrate the strength and the influence of their religious beliefs. Belief in Tibetan Buddhism may be denied, but the influence of Tibetan Buddhism cannot be escaped. Migrant Tibetan youth observed the crowding issues in these world heritage sites as well, yet they seldom connected the problem with the conflicts due to religious belief. They tended to connect them with environmental issues.

In terms of development styles, all the groups agreed that development should be sustainable. “It is a great shame if they are ever bulldozed. Heritage is an important part of our lexicon. It is like a language and if you haven’t got a solid grasp of that language you can’t move into the future. It’s our cultural literacy. It’s never too late to be careful to protect them.” “Future development is welcomed only if it is thinking from long-term perspectives”. In detail, three potential management approaches and strategies were elicited.

- Strictly stick to the carrying capacity management, and keep the current style of cultural sightseeing;
- Improve the facilities (e.g. information centre, identification system), maximize other resources (e.g. Snow Village), and relieve the pressure on core areas;
- Effectively promote winter tourism to relieve the seasonality pressure;

Table 3.6 displays another category of tourism assets, which has the potential to attract tourists, the religious sites in the Old Town of Lhasa. Most of sites were used by local people for religious worship at the time of this study.

Table 3. 6: Religious sites as tourism assets (focus groups)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-1	11	Different; authentic; local; daily life	Very valuable(10)*; value (2)	Desirable (7); not sure (2)
L-FG-2	8	Free; diversified; not crowded	Very valuable (2), valuable (3), neutral (2), valueless (3)	Very desirable (2), desirable (2), neutral (3),
L-FG-3	16	Soul home; holy; pure;	Very valuable(7), valuable (2)	Very desirable (5), desirable (3)
L-FG-4	5	Nice; peaceful	Very valuable(1), valuable (2), neutral (4), not sure (1)	desirable (2), neutral (3), not sure (3)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

For the perceptions of religious sites as tourism assets, there seemed to be some differences between indigenous Tibetan and migrant Tibetan “Post 80s” groups. The indigenous Tibetan groups attached much value to the religious sites as well as their protection. In their opinion, these sites were holy and pure places, and very different from tourist sites. And “they are diversified. If you’re interested in Tibetan Buddhism, you will absolutely enjoy the history and stories behind each temple (L-FG-1, 2010).”

In terms of desirability for tourism development, some held that it was good to promote Tibetan culture and stimulate economic development by turning these religious resources into economic resources. Others held opposing views. Comments included the following opinions: “Well, I’m not quite sure about this... But people like my parents and grandparents would think it inappropriate to associate Tibetan Buddhism with mundane economic values and activities.” “To some context, it is even disrespectful and insulting for Tibetans to make such an association (L-FG -3,

2010).” The struggle between economic development and the purity of Buddhism seemed to be a dilemma. Meanwhile, compromise approaches were observed. “We are willing to introduce some of these temples to tourists, on condition that tourism won’t affect normal religious activities. Anyhow, it helps to understand Tibetan culture, and also gain some revenue for local temples (L-FG-3, 2010).” “We welcome outsiders to visit our temples if they like. But I’m against charging tickets from them. They are very serious venues. Though tourists welcomed, they are different with the ordinary tourism attraction sites developed in and around Lhasa (L-FG-1, 2010).”

The migrant youth in the tourism industry stressed ‘free entrance’ to these temples. “According to my experience, these temples will never be attractive to mass tourists. Only those who are interested in Tibetan culture and stay in Lhasa for a longer term will visit these temples. They may be good places to develop some special niche markets. Overall, I’m not positive in predicting big changes in the future. As a result, it is difficult to tell their value (L-FG-2, 2010).”

“I’ve been studying and working here for more than 7 years. However, I know very few temples mentioned by you (the author). There are too many high-scale temples in and around Lhasa. Why waste time in visiting these local-scale ones in limited time (L-FG-4, 2010)?” Another member in the group observed, “In addition to what XX said, I have something to add. I would prefer these temples being protected. It is partly because of the strong religious belief that makes Lhasa a special place in the world. What if it is all commercial activities?”

When discussing their willingness to develop these religious sites as tourism attractions, the tourism involved group held more positive attitudes than the fourth group. Most members of the fourth group held a ‘neutral’ or “not sure” attitude concerning developing these locations, which was consistent with their judgement about the value of the features (see Table 3.6).

Furthermore, one of the migrant youth shared his concern with the author privately, after the completion of the focus group. His views were distinctive. “You know, Tibet is a religious society. Culture should be the basis of development, especially for

tourism. However, religion is a sensitive issue here. I don't think any of the officials will risk their career to initiate or support any religious tourism development." "They may be desirable for development, but it is nearly impossible to develop them on a mass scale and officially in the near future." "You know, political stability is the highest priority here. Frequent contacts between the religious people and tourists may be considered as risky (L-FG-4, 2010)."

Possibly because of the sensitive nature of religious issues in the Old Town of Lhasa, development approaches for the religious sites were only occasionally elicited. The major approaches discussed include,

- Cultural sightseeing without disturbance to Tibetans' pilgrimage;
- Organise some themed activities based on its historical background (e.g. develop Muru sutra museum, and incorporate its tradition in sutra printing);
- Be a place to promote good behaviour, and affect tourists;

Tibetan buildings and architecture, especially the traditional yards, was a popular topic discussed in the photo-elicitation interviews (see Table 3.7). Both the indigenous Tibetan groups and migrant groups thought that they had great potential for attracting more tourists, because of their cultural values (L-FG-1&3, 2010), their aesthetic values (L-FG-12&3, 2010), and their architectural values (L-FG-4, 2010).

Table 3. 7: Tibetan traditional yards as tourism assets (focus groups)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-1	11	Well-protected; traditional; Tibetan; aesthetical	Very valuable(10)*; value (2)	Desirable(7); neutral (3)
L-FG-2	12	Distinctive; beautiful; fantastic; attractive; very Tibetan	Very valuable (7), valuable (6), neutral (2)	Very desirable (4), desirable (3), neutral (2)
L-FG-3	12	Traditional; well- designed; decorated; Tibetan civilization;	Very valuable(7), valuable (2)	Very desirable (7), desirable (3), not sure (1)
L-FG-4	10	Architectural value; heritages; historical,	Very valuable(7), neutral (4)	Very desirable (5), desirable (3)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

“I think we’ve got some beautiful buildings on some beautiful streets and rather than cherry-pick one or two buildings here or there, it is a chance to protect the whole streets and places, so that we can take our kids and show them a glimpse of Tibet in the future.” A member in the first group urged the protection of whole district where these old buildings are located.

Similar ideas were discovered in the migrant Tibetan groups. A member in the third group said, “These buildings are visually attractive. They are very different from the modern buildings in cities and the traditional buildings in inland areas. Furthermore, they carry the memories of Tibetan culture, folk stories, and reflect the plateau environment. If the tourists are motivated by culture, they will definitely be interested in visiting these buildings.”

In terms of development, some members in the first group said, “We would like to say

that buildings of history and national character should be protected. If tourism can be positive in protecting them, we welcome it.” There was much agreement across the groups on this specific issue. A member in the fourth group revealed that these buildings were key to local heritage, and concluded that “If we don’t protect who we were yesterday we can’t be proud of who we are going to be tomorrow.”

For traditional Tibetan yards, no significant difference was discovered between the indigenous groups and the migrant groups. Some potential development approaches were also suggested.

- Transform them into Tibetan themed hotels, e.g. Trichang Labrang hotel;
- Integrating its historical background, build some mini museums, like Princess Wencheng Memorial Hall, City construction/ Custom/ Stura Museums;
- Transform them into tea houses, restaurants, Tibetan opera theatre, facilitating both the hosts and the tourists;

In addition to the world heritage sites, religious sites, and Tibetan traditional yards, Tibetan customs and daily life was considered as another group of tourism assets (see Table 3.8). Tibetan customs and daily was seen as under-developed at the time of the research, or was only superficially explored.

Table 3. 8: Tibetan customs and daily life as tourism assets (focus group)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-1	9	Attractive; diversified; educational;	Very valuable(10)*; valuable (2)	Very desirable(7); desirable (2)
L-FG-2	9	Exotic; living; vivid; interesting; good experience;	Very valuable (5), valuable (4), neutral (2)	Very desirable (3), desirable (2), neutral (1)
L-FG-3	17	Fun; exciting; colourful; good experience; easy to communicate	Very valuable(11), valuable (6)	Very desirable (7), desirable (4)
L-FG-4	7	Controversial; fantastic; unacceptable	Very valuable(2), neutral (4); not sure (3)	Very desirable (2), neutral (2); not sure (1)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

Hostel employees in the third group valued customs and daily life much higher than other groups. They were also the group who were the most optimistic in turning these resources into tourism attractions in the future. The most cited example was Tibetan night clubs (known as “*Lang-ma Hall*” in Tibetan), which are popular among Tibetan youth. In the night clubs, you can watch live ethnic performance (opera, popular song singing and dancing) from different regions of Tibet, while drinking Tibetan barley wine, beer, other alcohol and soft drinks. Audience members are welcome to join in the performance. Most of the night clubs run from 9 pm to 7am, and are mostly full of customers. “We have great fun in these clubs. Though most of the performance, dancing and singing, is traditional and in Tibetan, I believe tourists can understand and enjoy as well. Whenever my friends visit, I like showing them to these clubs.” This participant’s views were strongly supported by members in the group, and

enthusiastic discussion on the wonderful times at night clubs followed.

For the remaining three groups, Tibetan customs and daily life were also seen as attractive for tourists to experience, because they were seen as exotic, diversified and distinctive. “These customs are the look and the feel of the Tibetan culture. They deserve to be protected and maintained in the future.” However, it was also controversial. A member in the fourth group expressed, “some customs, especially Tibetan food are not hygienic and healthy from the perspective of modern life, (even disgusting). ... So the value for tourism development was difficult to judge. It depends on how difficult the development is, and what aspects are used for development.”

Other concerns emerged. “Nowadays, the secular aspects of Tibetan tradition such as painting, art (especially *Thangkas*), dance, cuisine (e.g. butter tea and roasted barley) and courtesy (e.g. offering a white scarf to a guest or a respected person) are widely used in tourism. However, they are just the most superficial level of our culture. These are not equal to Tibetan cultures.... What’s worse, they are the parts that can be easily copied by other regions. The future tourism development in the Old Town should rely more on the deep development of these aspects.” “Reconsideration and in-depth development may be an alternative.”

Several options for future development of Tibetan customs and daily life emerged. Examples include,

- Consider them as the background in traditional or commercial streets, where the daily life and customs are highly embedded;
- Establish different themed museums, reflecting Tibetan customs;
- Redesign some night clubs and opera houses to meet tourists’ expectations;

When discussing the Tibetan customs and daily life as tourism assets, some participants in the third group suggested Tibetan festivals, because they were

distinctive and easy to package as tourism products. Thus this topic was only discussed in the third group and final group (L-FG-4, 2010) (see Table 3.9).

Table 3. 9: Tibetan festivals and events as tourism assets (focus groups)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-3	11	Lively & happy; full of dancing and singing; show of Tibetan customs	Very valuable (9)*	Very desirable (6), desirable (2)
L-FG-4	6	Magnificent; crowded;	Very valuable (3), valuable (2)	Very desirable (2), desirable (2), neutral (2)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

All the members considered that these festivals were valuable for tourism development. Indigenous Tibetan participants thought these lively and happy festivals were good opportunities to showcase their culture and also to relax. Migrant participants in the fourth group indicated that these magnificent festivals were attractive. Most of these festivals, however, had religious or political themes, so packaging them as tourism products might not be easy.

Both the groups were willing to develop Tibetan festivals as tourism attractions, and held quite positive attitudes. Two major development approaches were elicited from the focus groups.

- Develop more festivals, especially those in winter time, to attract more tourists in off-season;
- Attract visitors to other venues to experience the same festival, and relieve the pressure on the old town of Lhasa;

The final tourism assets elicited from focus group interviews was Tibetan medicine. It was a new topic which emerged in the first group interview, and was discussed in all of the subsequent groups (see Table 3.10). Tibetan medicine is a centuries old traditional medical system that employs a complex approach to diagnosis. It originated from Tibetan Buddhism. It is mainly practiced in the Greater Tibetan Regions. It takes local plants, herbs and minerals as the main ingredients. Physical therapies are also employed to treat illness.

Table 3. 10: Tibetan medicine as tourism assets (focus groups)

Groups	Frequency	Descriptive phrases	Perceived value	Desirability for development
L-FG-1	11	Effective; healthy; natural	Very valuable (10)*; valuable (2)	Very desirable(6); desirable (2)
L-FG-2	13	Well-being; healthy;	Very valuable (5), valuable (4), neutral (2)	Very desirable (3), desirable (2), neutral (2)
L-FG-3	12	Natural; effective; historical	Very valuable(11), valuable (6)	Very desirable (5), desirable (2)
L-FG-4	5	Mysterious; natural	Valuable(2), neutral (2); not sure (3)	desirable (2), neutral (2); not sure (1)

* The numbers in the last two columns record the frequency of these specific adjectives being mentioned during the focus groups.

A difference was noted between indigenous Tibetans and migrant youth involved in tourism industry. The former group were more interested in Tibetan medicine, and attached higher value to the topic. Indigenous Tibetan members (L-FG-1&3, 2010) asserted the natural characteristics of Tibetan medicine and its effectiveness for some chronic diseases. They would like to share Tibetan traditional medicine with people all over the world, especially those who suffer from illness. They predicted that it

would gain popularity within Asia, and extend to the other parts of the world.

One participant in the second group, who had taken many Chinese and northeast Asian tourists to buy Tibetan medicine and visit Tibetan hospitals, smiled and commented that, “in pursuit of health and well-being, people, especially those in the circle of Confucianism, are willing to try anything. Tibetan medicine is effective in some chronic diseases. It will gain more acknowledgements among tourists.”

Members in the fourth group held different views. They considered that Tibetan medicine was mysterious. They seldom tried these medicines even though they had been in Lhasa for a few years. Thus, they doubted the tourists’ acceptability of Tibetan medicine. Their views on the desirability of developing Tibetan medicine as tourism assets were low. One member in this group was an exception. She thought highly of Tibetan medicine, but did not welcome its development for tourists. She smiled and joked, “What are the benefits for us if it (Tibetan medicine) is popular with tourists? Only increased price, like the land price, and possibly lowered quality.”

3.5.4.2 Reverse gaze on tourists

Two decade ago, the concept of “tourist gaze” towards the exotic locals was introduced (Urry, 1990). In recent years, more scholars have noticed a reverse gaze from the hosts (Chan, 2006; Gillespie, 2006; Maoz, 2006; Stronza, 2008). They observed that the hosts are not passive and the tourists too can be closely watched by the locals. The question in this section focuses on “Post 80s” perceptions of tourists. The question asked was:

Q5: What are your images of visitors in Lhasa? If you can choose any kind of tourists, do you have any preferable group?

This section of the thesis does not employ a standard UNWTO or other textbook definition of tourism. Instead it considers the term tourism and tourist in the ways which local people in Tibet use and understand these labels. This responds to Cohen’s appeal that researchers and participants may define tourism and tourists differently (Cohen, 1974). In this study, the lay concepts of tourist and tourism were explored.

Representations on who were tourists include “tourists are temporary visitors from other regions, both home and abroad.” “Tourists are outsiders, and they will head back home or other destinations soon.” “Tourists come to Lhasa for different reasons, but very few for Buddhism beliefs.” A number of participants thought pilgrims were not tourists, because “basically tourists are consumers.” “Tourists are paying for their tickets, food, accommodation, and other items. Their consumption accelerates the economic development in Lhasa.” Meanwhile, “tourists are recognizable in appearance, because tourists look and act differently from local residents.” To summarise their representations, tourists in the Old Town of Lhasa are “outsiders”, who stay temporally, consume a lot, and look different.

Based on the initial understanding of tourists, further questions were asked to assess the young hosts’ understanding of tourists. The Old Town of Lhasa witnesses millions of tourist arrivals every year. The young hosts were very knowledgeable about tourists. Emancipated representations towards the understanding of tourists were identified. The youth noticed that tourists were diversified, with different demographic backgrounds, such as age, gender, nationality and occupation. They also suggested that tourists travelled in different styles (e.g. package tour and independent travel), used different accommodation (e.g. hostels, family inns, budget hotels and luxury hotels), had different lengths of stay (e.g. few days to several weeks), took different transportation (e.g. airlines, trains, coaches, and self-driving), had different interests and were involved in different activities (e.g. visiting well-known world heritages sites, temples, local markets, museums, wetlands, and lakes). Nevertheless, the most frequently noted grouping criteria were based on racial and national differences. They classified the “outsiders” into the following sub-groups.

- Foreigners (Tourists from western countries)
- Inland Han People (Tourists from coastal China, and tourists from middle and west China)
- Eastern Asians (Tourists from oriental countries)

- *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans (Residents inside the Tibetan Regions)
- Others (e.g. tourists from other parts of the world, like Africa, Pacific Islands)

In the young Tibetans' language, "foreigners" were equated with Caucasians. Being "white" was the most important characteristic to these Tibetan youth. "These foreigners are the people we are curious about but have difficulty in communicating with, because they speak in English or other languages." They regarded "foreigners" as a single culture and did not distinguish between tourists from different western countries. "I think these white people, with blue eyes and big noses, are similar. I can't tell the differences between an American and a German, or whatever." Tourists from East Asia, mainly Japan and South Korea, however, were excluded from "foreigners" and were regarded as another single group. Meanwhile, the most common tourists were "inland Han people", which was further divided into middle and west inlanders, and coastal inlanders. Here, they did not tell the differences between the majority Han in inland China and other ethnic minorities except Mongolians and they labelled most of the other parts of China as inland China. Additionally, they pointed out that Tibetans from other regions, mainly *Khampa* and *Amdo*, who spoke different dialects, but shared similar culture, were also tourists. Other tourists, like those from south Asia (e.g. Indians and Nepalese), and Africa, were small in number.

Images about different sub-groups of tourists were also discussed. The core information is presented in Table 3.11.

Table 3. 11: Perceptions and preferences of tourist groups

Groups	Preferred groups (core ideas)
L-FG-1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All visitors to Lhasa are guests and welcomed, no matter where they come from (4)* • Those who respect our culture, religious belief and rules (3) • Those who will spend more and stay longer (3)
L-FG-2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those spending more are preferable, e.g. North-eastern Chinese (3) • Coastal Chinese and Asians are not preferred (2) • Caucasians are ok (2)
L-FG-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Those believing in Buddhism are most welcome to visit religious related sites (3); • All tourists are guests and are welcomed (3); • Those who respect our culture (2); • Caucasians are most welcome (2); • Official business visiting is not preferred (2).
L-FG-4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists from coastal China are most welcomed (3); • Japanese and Korean tourists are welcomed (2) • Those who bring more benefits to Lhasa are more welcomed (2).

* The numbers in the second column report the frequency of these perception and preferences being mentioned during the focus groups.

It seems that the indigenous Tibetan groups were more influenced by the Buddhist ideology that “everyone under the heaven is brother.” They did not care much about the tourists’ origins. They asserted many times that “all visitors are guests, and all of them should be welcomed.” Meanwhile, they expressed the importance of respecting Tibetan culture. One participant in the first group observed,

“I sincerely believe that more tourists are welcomed. However, I dislike those tourists who concentrate on the religious, exotic or primitive perspectives, e.g. they

continuously take photos of begging Tibetans, of circumambulation, and of young monks. Tibet is diversified. It is much more than religion and exoticism. Their action and photos are misrepresenting Tibet and will, possibly, mislead future tourists' perceptions. ...Those who appreciate our culture and customs, and respect our people, are always welcome. ”

The migrant tourism related groups paid much attention to the ability of the tourists to be consumers. They preferred those who were from wealthy areas and those who were more generous in consumption. “I liked the coastal tourists, but not now. These people are very shrewd and always bargain with us. Those from northeast and middle China, with less travelling experience, are more easy-going and generous. We can make good fortune from their pockets. ...My friends (business friends in a local souvenir market) and I prefer those who consume more.”

The other migrant Tibetan group did not have clear preferences towards different groups of tourists. Nevertheless, slight preferences for tourists from their hometown (middle and west China), was noticed. Indeed, in a Confucian influenced culture, the positive ties between individuals and their hometowns are a persistent theme (Lew & Wong, 2004).

3.5.4.3 Other assets and tourism development

Tourism is not isolated from other development issues. Tourism attractions act as primary assets for development in remote destinations like Lhasa. However, the development of tourism is also dependent on the availability of the other assets, like economic, human and social ones. The following four questions explored Tibetan “Post 80s” perceptions of other developmental assets.

Q6: To be involved in tourism development, are there any economic assets that are very important?

The young hosts' representations of economic assets seemed very concentrating. The most frequent asset the participants identified was the access to financial resources.

“Disposable money is very important. It’s essential for livelihoods investment.”

“If you show the potential to be successful, others, like relatives, and banks will be willing to lend some loans to you. In this sense, it is not necessary to have your own money.”

Besides access to initial investment money, housing and properties were listed as important assets. “If I had a house in the Old Town, I will definitely consider or persuade my family to transform it into a guest house or other tourism related businesses. Compared to paying high rental fees for property owners, it’s less risky. If it operates successfully, it will not only enhance our material well-being but also makes our living more meaningful. If not, it doesn’t cost us much, because it’s our idle resources. We don’t care much about the labour cost.”

“My dad is a tour bus driver. He is working for tourism, mainly because he owns a bus. He earns more by working for tourism.”

“I think this applies to most of people in Tibet. If we have some resources suitable for tourism development, why not use them for tourism development? ”

Besides these two main economic assets, few other assets were noted in response to this question.

Q7: To be involved in tourism development, what human assets do you and your communities have and not have?

Human assets, including both their quantity and quality, are important for any development work. The participants of focus groups suggested,

“We have low-cost labour. You know, for tourism, we don’t need a lot of high skilled employees.”

“We have a lot of talented people, who master and can show the traditional arts of Tibet, like wall painting, *Tangkha* painting, weaving, dancing, singing, and so on. These arts and crafts reflect our culture, and may be attractive to tourists.”

“We are receiving more education and training, and are learning how to deal with

tourists now. We will be more experienced in the future”

“I think human assets issues are an ongoing process. At present we may not as qualified as tourism development requires, but with some experience of involvement and the improving education, we can definitely enhance some skills and capacities. This in turn promotes the development of tourism.”

“We are not short of personnel in number. What we lack those who are skilled at planning, marketing and management.”

Under this question, the channels of improving the human assets were further examined. The major pathways suggested by the participants were “free training organised by the government”, “learning through practice”, “adult continuous education offered by local universities”, and “hiring professionals and learning from them.”

Additionally, some participants emphasised the personal support from their family and neighbour. “If I ran a guest house, my family and neighbours will be a great source of help. They can do full-time or part-time jobs for me. I believe for most of the small and medium tourism enterprises, human assets won’t be a problem.”

Q8: Are there any social assets that are indispensable or beneficial for tourism development?

“Social assets” is a broad term encompassing the norms and networks, which facilitate collective mutual benefits (Woolcock, 1998, as cited in Bebbington, 1999). Woolcock suggested that social assets support key actions to enhance people’s livelihoods. They improve people’s ability to access and defend resources. The links here include accessing the institutions and organizations in the spheres of understanding markets, working with state and civil society, and using these connections to create income. It has been reported that the access to social assets assists securing other types of assets, such as the economic assets and human assets.

In both Confucian and Buddhist cultures, social capital commonly means the family life and interpersonal relationships (Shin & Inoguchi, 2009). In these cultures, inter-

personal relationships matter a lot. “In some scenarios, relationships are more influential than the level of knowledge and wealth (L-FG-3, 2010).”

Participants in the focus groups fully recognized the importance of social assets. Their representations of the social assets related to tourism development were diverse:

The most frequently mentioned social assets were the collective atmosphere and culture in the household and community. That is, they considered the importance of respecting the seniors in the community, building on the traditions of mutual assistance, and the role of considering others. The collective tradition unites people and makes them work together. One member said, “... The family is the basic unit of our society. The support and trust from family is critical for our big choices in the life, including career choices and investment choices (L-FG-1, 2010).”

The ties with local government were also emphasised. Most frequently, these ties are connected by “knowing some pro-poor individuals in the government, or having some family members working there (L-FG-4, 2010)”. Knowing these individuals may enhance Tibetans’ capacities to coordinate with government and other organizations in the pursuit or defence of access. More commonly, this kind of relationship will bring some business and obtain extra services that are not easily approachable for others. “... Indeed, in Tibet’s poorly-developed legal and distribution system, personal networks may provide the only efficient alternatives (L-FG-2, 2010).”

In addition, the ties with market forces, mainly travel agencies and tour guides, were regarded as important social assets, “because these people are in charge of a high proportion of the flow of tourists (L-FG-3, 2010).” For small tourism enterprises, these ties can be strengthened by having family members or friends working there. For medium and large tourism enterprises, this can be achieved by strategic cooperation through negotiations.

Further, being involved in any tourism development work from the beginning of the project was the interest of some participants. Other social assets include availability of information, community leaders, and guidance from the community elites who

embrace tourism first and are successful.

Q9: Is there any social character that is positive for tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa?

While human beings may be seen as the first capital for development, Inkeles (1997) asserted that the social character of a nation is the greatest social capital for the nation's sustainable development. Tourism development in Tibet is not an exception. The Indigenous Tibetans in this study were conservative and they felt uneasy about exploring their own positive characteristics. By considering the perceptions from the migrants, the following social characteristics of the Tibetan nation can be summarised as beneficial to local tourism,

- Tibetans are peaceful, and respect the harmonious relationships between human and nature and society;
- Tibetans are proud of their culture, and willing to share with others ;
- Tibetans are increasing their commercial awareness, and know how to seize development opportunities;
- Tibetans are hospitable, straight-forward, forgiving, and easy going with tourists;
- Tibetans are talented, good at dancing and music performance, thus, their culture is visible and attractive;
- Tibetans receive better education than ever before, and thus become more qualified.

3.5.4.4 Perceptions of tourism jobs

The questions below (Q10&11) explore the “Post 80s” views on tourism as a job choice. Their attitudes towards and concerns about tourism employment are presented.

Q10: What do you think of working in tourism industry?/ What do you think of tourism as an income source? Which sub-sectors will be your choices, or your

recommendations to your friends?

Tourism as a job choice was discussed. The reasons why tourism jobs were preferred or disliked were also explored. Table 3.12 presents the very polemical attitudes toward tourism.

Table 3. 12: Attitudes towards tourism jobs

Group	Preferable reasons	Disliked reasons
L-FG-1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High salary (tour guides) (2)* • Encounter with visitors from different cultures (2) • Long holiday, flexible (1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low social status (3) • Have stable & prestigious jobs (2) • Seasonable, not stable (2) • Physical and emotional demanding (2)
L-FG-2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good experience (2) • Not bad salary (2) • Interact with tourists (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seasonal, no business in winter (4) • Too sensitive, not stable (3)
L-FG-3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Show Tibetan culture (3); • Long holiday in winter time (2) • Interact with tourists (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relative low payment (3) • Work/life balance (2);
L-FG-4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bring income to host (3) • Enhance communication/ language/other skills (2) • More opportunities for women and the old (2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low social status (2) • Low income(2) • Political & religious sensitive, not stable (2) • Not competitive (1)

* The numbers in the second and third columns report the frequency of these perceptions being mentioned during the focus groups.

In addition, this study also explored the favourite tourism jobs perceived by the young hosts. The popular jobs included working in: hospitality (e.g. hotels, hostels, and restaurants) (17), travel agency (15), tourism attraction management (12), tourism

transportation (12), related civil service (9), related entrepreneurship (6), informal sector (such as vendor) (6), and related sectors (tourism publishing, marketing, consulting) (3). The numbers in the previous sentence record the frequency with which these jobs were mentioned and preferred by the focus groups participants.

Tourism jobs as potential livelihoods choices were also considered. Some predicted that tourism would be the main income source for them and the Old Town community, while a larger number of the respondents considered tourism income as part of their income portfolio.

Q11: In terms of tourism development, are there any obstacles?/ If you would like to be involved in the tourism industry, what kind of challenges will you face?

Though thinking highly of the tourism industry, and the low skill requirement for most of tourism jobs, the interest for being involved in the industry was low. The restricting forces include vulnerability of the sector at a macro level, while other concerns were at a micro level. From the focus groups interview, the major concerns were:

- Financial issues, e.g. lack of money or loans for initial investment;
- Political issues. The stability in Tibet is uncertain, which makes the tourism industry extremely vulnerable;
- Social and cultural issues. Senior people, especially senior males, tend to dominate the decision making at different levels. In addition, service industry, including tourism, is not respected by the society;
- Human issues. It is common that the intelligent youth move and work in the coastal cities. It is difficult to find partners who can work together, and there is relatively low qualification of Tibetan youth;
- Family issues. Sometimes, family members and friends perceive that it is risky to give up one's stable job and work for the vulnerable tourism industry;
- Unexpected extreme events. For example, the 3/12 riot, SARS, Swine flu, and the

financial crisis may affect the tourism industry very powerfully.

3.5.4.5 Perceptions of tourism outcomes

This section presents the discussion about question 12, which explored the young hosts' perceptions of the expected tourism outcomes.

Q12: What kind of tourism development do you think is sustainable for the Old Town?/ What tourism impacts do you think are positive to the long-term development of the Old Town?

The analysis of the focus groups data indicates that tourism outcomes were viewed in a holistic way by the Tibetan young hosts. They suggested multiple outcomes, rather than merely advocating economic growth and physical well-being. In summary, the young hosts effectively put forward nine items when they considered sustainable tourism. These items covered cultural, social, economic, environmental, and host and tourist issues. The overall understanding of sustainable outcomes suggested by the participants paralleled the dimensions of sustainable tourism proposed in some academic discussion (Huayhuaca, *et al.*, 2010). Contextual meanings, however, were attached differently. The detailed and contextual interpretations of these attributes are presented as follows.

- **Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected.** An early article on Tibet tourism stressed that Tibetan culture is the soul of Tibet tourism (Zhang, 1996). Cultural distinctiveness has always been promoted by local governments and media (Murakami, 2008). This view has been deeply rooted in the local residents' minds. Expressions like, "it's our culture that distinguishes us from others, and that's why they come from thousands miles away" arose from time to time during the focus groups.
- **More people approach Lhasa with an open-mind.** Some writings about backpackers ("Donkey friends" in Mandarin) recorded the prejudice of tourists towards the ethnic areas, including Tibet (Lim, 2009; Zhang, 2008b). "Post 80s" in this study fully noticed these "misrepresentations" and "mad" tourist gaze. They

sincerely hoped that tourists would better understand their community. A focus group participant observed, “the media always promotes that bringing people together in face-to-face interactions and in properly structured circumstance will lead to beneficial relationships. I do hope outsiders can understand our nation better. ... If you find something exotic in our community, please do not simply consider it as exotic, primitive, backward, or anything like that (L-FG-1, 2010).”

- **Maintains the quality of the environment.** The environmental consideration is one of the important dimensions in any sustainable tourism development approach. This view resonates with the Buddhist thinking, which promotes the view that maximising the utility of the environment is appropriate on the condition of keeping harmonious and peaceful relationships both between man and nature, and man and man (Schumacher, 1973; Wagner, 2007). The harmonious relationship endorses low levels of materialism and advocates a spiritual approach to life. “As nature is the source of life, it should be treated respectfully and properly. ... When mother nature speaks, it’s too late.” “For a responsible citizen, we need to consider the future generation by leaving them a good environment.” “For us Buddhist followers, the right livelihood basically means not getting involved in any actions that harm other living beings. You know, protecting the environment is the basis for all livelihoods.” “... We are always educated that all wealth should be acquired and used in the right way.” These views, taken together, amount to a clear mandate for environment care.
- **Improve living conditions and reduce the poverty of the hosts.** Tourism has been frequently regarded as a tool for development by different levels of government. It is also expected by local residents to be an economically successful approach (Long, *et al.*, 1990; Tao, 2006; UNWTO, 1997). Tibetan “Post 80s” in this study also linked tourism development with their living conditions. A member in the first focus group noted, “Just as Deng Xiaoping (the leader and designer of China’s opening and reform) said, ‘it doesn’t matter whether the cat is white or black, as long as it catches rats’. For ordinary individuals like us, the first thing we

consider is our living condition. ... To conclude, it doesn't matter if it is tourism or other industries, as long as it improves our living quality.”

- **Community participates in tourism development (e.g. decision making, jobs).** Tourism can be regarded as a community industry. Community participation has been a key to success in some Western cultures (Murphy, 1985). Tibetan youth in this study also showed an interest in participating in tourism, not only obtaining some economic benefits, but also being informed about what would happen in their community in the future.
- **Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities.** Human assets can use and defend the tourism assets more effectively which can lead to further development (Bebbington, 1999). Participants in the study fully understood this, and suggested that good development should result in quality enhancement and skills development. “Service, communication, management, marketing and other skills, are life-long assets, and they are transferrable.... The propaganda always asserts that development should be people focused. It should and should always be kept in mind and be put into practice (L-FG-3, 2010). ”
- **Tourists are satisfied and willing to make word-of-mouth recommendations.** Tourists are one of the most important sectors of the tourism system. Many empirical studies have suggested that the understanding of tourist behaviour and meeting visitor's expectations can help guarantee the quality of life for residents (Mannete, 2009). “Post 80s” in this study noted the unsatisfactory situation of tourism service in Lhasa, which might result in a negative reputation. “I chatted a lot with tourists when they are shopping in my place. Some complained about service and unfair treatment. I guess they will complain to their friends, or even online tourism communities..... To accelerate the development, tourists should be regarded as our ‘parents’ forever. It is never too much to satisfy their reasonable needs (L-FG-2, 2010).”
- **Take environmental friendly materials and technologies, and adopt low-carbon consumption.** Technology plays an important role in any sustainable

lifestyle. “Our hostels use the solar power, and encourage customers not to replace sheets everyday. I think, we, as well as the tourists can do much more. It’s important for our vulnerable plateau environment. It is also what our belief (Tibetan Buddhism) proposes (L-FG-3, 2010).” Other examples, like adopting local material for construction, consuming local food instead of imported ones, and water/energy saving technologies, were suggested. “It may cost a huge amount of money to adopt these technologies, but if we think in the long term, it saves us a lot, and relieves the burden on our mother nature (L-FG-2, 2010).”

- **Availability of legislation and regulation of tourism operations, making it a healthy and orderly tourism industry.** Some businesses are apt to concentrate on the short-term commercial profit, with little concern about the consequential long-term social and environmental costs for local people. This is especially a concern in the capital accumulation stage of operations (Yang & Wall, 2008). Tourist vendors and souvenir shops in the Old Town of Lhasa were blamed for cheating tourists. “I feel ashamed when tourists complained about tourism scams in our pure land (L-FG-3, 2010).” Similar observations were also made about some developing companies and investors, who abused local resources for their own profits. “It’s not fair to use our culture and resources, but consider little for us (L-FG-1, 2010).” As a result, they looked forward to having effective tourism policies and regulations established which would protect ethnic resources from profiteering.

3.5.5 Summary of focus groups studies

Four focus groups, with two indigenous Tibetan groups and two migrant Tibetan groups, were conducted. A range of issues concerning the assets base for tourism development in the future were discussed. Preferences for tourists, perceptions of other development assets, attitudes and concerns relating to tourism jobs and tourism outcomes were also explored.

On discussing the assets base, some common defining issues were identified. For example, the meanings of the assets and the importance of access were the core points

raised. Focus groups respondents indicated that assets were more than vehicles for instrumental action (making a living). They could also be vehicles for transformative action, making a living valuable and meaningful. An example was transforming a traditional style house into a guest house. The importance of access was also highlighted. It is accessible assets that directly determine whether some specific livelihoods are workable or not. Further, the access determines the meanings of these assets and livelihoods. Indeed, the combination and transformation of these assets reflects a person's world, and the values he/she holds (Bebbington, 1999).

Some differences between the indigenous Tibetan and migrant Tibetan group were identified. For example, they both realized the outstanding value of the world heritage sites as tourism assets. However, their understanding of the world heritage sites varied greatly. The indigenous Tibetans believed the soul place, the Jokhang Temple, is more valuable, while their mainland Chinese counterparts attached higher value to the most well-known landmark, the Potala Palace. In another example, quite a few indigenous Tibetan participants welcomed all types of tourists, because "they are brothers and friends under the heaven". Those who appreciated Tibetan culture and respected Tibetans were most preferred. However, the tourism involved migrant Tibetan youth clearly preferred the higher consuming visitors. For those not involved in tourism, the most welcomed group were those from neighbouring provinces (middle and west provinces). Empirical examination of the significance of these differences will be conducted in the next questionnaire based survey study.

The focus groups study provided much information, containing materials that are hard to uncover in questionnaire based surveys. Examples include the concern about Tibet's sensitive political and religious environment, and the primary importance of stability for the future of tourism in Tibet. In this sense, the focus groups, together with photo-elicitation interviews, provide emic information for the construction of the questionnaire based survey. They are also complementary to the data collected from a questionnaire based survey, because the concepts and ideas revealed local perspectives and voices, which might aid the interpretation of the survey results.

3.6 Implications: Adjustment of the SL framework in the Tourism Context

When doing tourism community research, Pearce *et al.* (1996, p.144) noted that it is an important feature of all questionnaires that open-ended materials concerning the impacts of tourism are collected prior to presenting residents with structured questionnaire surveys. To ensure the questions asked in the questionnaire based survey make sense to the respondents, this thesis follows the suggestion of Pearce *et al.* (1996). Most specifically, the foundation studies presented in this chapter act as sources of emic derived information. The work discussed in this chapter also provides open-ended materials relevant to the structure of the questionnaire based survey, and thus further identify the broader views of the researched group.

The SL framework, as discussed in chapter 2, was chosen to organize the research content, especially for the questionnaire based survey. Before undertaking the construction of the survey, the SL framework and its application will be reconsidered from the context of the work conducted in the Old Town of Lhasa and from the “Post 80s” youth’s perspectives.

The view that the SL framework needs to be adjusted is appreciated because all forms of social reality have a peculiarly human and socially constructed nature (Macnaghten, 1993, as cited in Intoo-Marn, 2002). Similarly, Longhurst (1994, as cited in Ellis, 2000b, p.16) observed that “it is unfortunate that a lot of writing about livelihoods in developing countries mixes terms and concepts borrowed from alternative structures of ideas, without appreciating that piecemeal deployment of such concepts serves neither to clarify the new context into which they are inserted nor to remain true to their intent in the body of thought from which they are extracted.”

Compared with other economic activities, tourism has some distinctive features. MacFeely (2009) concluded that tourism is a globalised, internationally traded service and yet it is also very local in nature. In addition, the customer must visit the product. The products cannot be delivered like the traditional approach does. Consequently

transport, environment, facilities and local culture all play important roles in defining the unique nature of any tourism product. Shen (2009) applied the SL framework in rural tourism in middle China, and she revealed that the SL framework propounded by UK Department for International Development (DFID) (1999), International Fund for Agriculture Development (IFAD) (2007), and other (international) organizations or scholars, cannot fully address the issues when tourism is used as a rural livelihood strategy. Tourism, as a tertiary service sector, is different from other productive sectors. This is especially true for tourism development in rural/peripheral areas. Shen (2009) further pointed out the three gaps between tourism and the SL approach. They have different orientation and understanding in development tools, sustainability, and community participation. Consequently, she proposed that tourism should not be treated in the same way as other productive sectors when addressing livelihood strategies. Rather, tourism should be considered as a context from which the SL approach is considered and viewed. She also advised that the issue of sustainability within a SL framework for tourism should be addressed, considering the potential trade-off between SL at the individual/household level and tourism at the community/collective level. Concerning participation issues, she advocated that an additional livelihood asset – the institutional asset – needs to be identified, included and treated equally with the other five livelihood assets in theory, as well as in practice. Indeed, new knowledge and thinking are needed to apply them in tourism context. For this study, the context of the Old Town tourism is incorporated.

Additionally, the concentration on the younger generation and the application of the SL framework for this specific group raised some issues. Furthermore, studies on youth, especially comparatives ones between Western and Eastern groups (Nelson & Chen, 2007) and the ones between urban and rural residents (Cheah, *et al.*, 2010), indicated some differences. In a study of promoting livelihoods opportunities for the rural youth, Bennell (2007) noted that the livelihoods features and interventions vary among different age groups. In another study, Bennell (2007) identified four major livelihoods assets for rural youth, including political and social, physical and natural,

human, and financial assets. He further suggested that the meanings of these assets are variable in different contexts.

Incorporating the contextual issues of both the Old Town of Lhasa and the insiders' (Tibetan "Post 80s" youth in this thesis) voices, the SL framework was adjusted as below (see Figure 3.9).

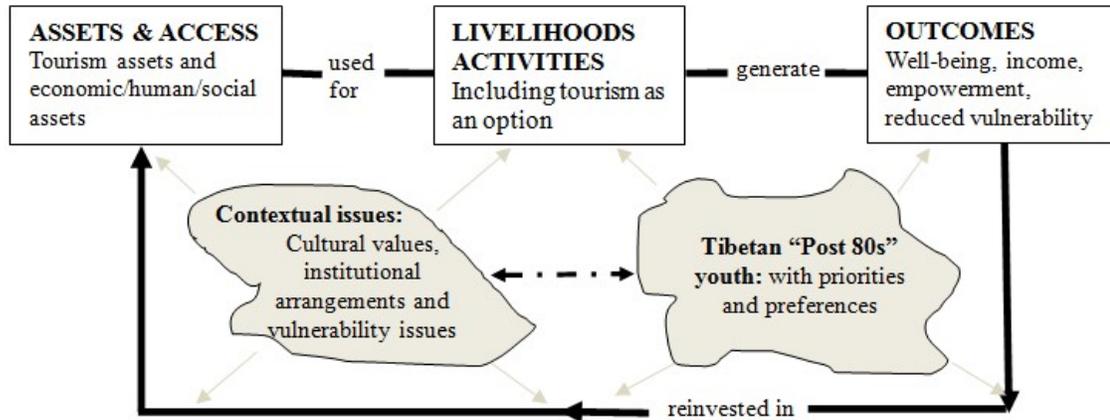


Figure 3. 9: Tourism as a livelihoods strategy in the Old Town of Lhasa: A simplified adapted SL framework

Compared with the livelihoods framework adopted in rural development areas, or more general developing areas, the adjusted diagram here focuses more on tourism development from Tibetan "Post 80s" youth's perspectives. To conclude, the essential ideas of the diagram are:

(1) Local hosts, **Tibetan "Post 80s" youth in this study, are placed at the centre position**, and regarded as the centre of any development, including tourism. This once again recalls the humanity spirit that is suggested the new development thinking (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Simpson, *et al.*, 2003) and future studies (Masini, 2002). In addition, it is a response to the cultural and ethical construction of sustainable tourism, which demonstrates that sustainable tourism is not simply a technical, rational and scientific approach, but also incorporates the development of people (Hughes, 1995). Further, it corresponds with the teachings from ancient China which stress the importance of people and relationships for all communities (Pun,

Chin, & Lau, 2000). The adjusted framework puts “Post 80s” in the spotlight and emphasizes their inherent capacities and knowledge systems. The issues raised confirm the importance of the “Post 80s” group as worthy of substantial research consideration in this thesis.

(2) The contextual environment where the Tibetan Post 80s youth live is also centrally important. The contextual issues, which contain cultural values, institutional arrangements, and vulnerability contexts and the institutional arrangements, deeply affect people’s access to certain livelihoods assets and their livelihoods decisions. The cultural values in this context include both the traditional and modern ones, as well as the concern on the stability. The institutional arrangements include local policy, institution and process factors. They are the spheres of market, state and the civil society that matter. The vulnerability issues include both the external ones and internal ones (e.g. seasonality, shocks, stability, and family issues). A lot of these issues may not be directly related to tourism, and are not necessary for tourism development, but sometimes, can be decisive factors and result in events that are profound in their implications for tourism (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). For example, the political stability of Lhasa determines the accessibility of tourists. The availability or the nature of these contextual issues - for example, the support or restriction from the local government - directly affect whether tourism can be a livelihood strategy or not, or whether tourism businesses are profitable or not. Consideration of these contextual issues, especially the irresistible vulnerability issues, makes the research more practical and close to decision-making in the real life (Moser, 1998).

(3) Generally, the adjusted framework follows the original “assets-activity-outcomes” logic. However, it emphasises the importance of **access to the assets** in livelihoods activities. Indeed, it is access to assets that makes it possible to combine and transform assets in the building of livelihoods that meet material and experiential needs (Bebbington, 1999; Vearey, 2008). It is access to assets that enables people to expand their assets bases through engaging with other actors and through relationships governed by the logics of the state, market and civil society (Carney,

1998; Haan & Zoomers, 2005). It is also access to assets that ensures people deploy and enhance their capabilities both to make living more meaningful and to change the dominant rules and relationships governing the ways in which resources are controlled, distributed and transformed in society (Mbaiwa, Ngwenya, & Kgathi, 2008; Shivakoti & Schmidt-Vogt, 2009).

The assets for tourism development include tourism assets, economic assets, human assets and social assets. Tourism assets, which motivate tourists to visit, are identified as the centre of livelihood assets/resources arrangement for tourism development. They are the primary assets in the assets system, because they are the formative elements of destination supply (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986). Here the tourism assets comprise the developed attractions in the Old Town, as well as the potential attractions, e.g. the religious sites (Tibetan temples/monasteries), traditional yards, Tibetan customs and daily life, and Tibetan traditional medicine. In destinations other than big cities, tourism is more dependent on the cultural and natural attraction resources. Here in the Old Town of Lhasa, these attraction assets are the prerequisites for proposing tourism as development strategy and as a creator for better livelihoods. Without these attraction assets, tourism, especially mass tourism could not function. The fundamental position of tourism assets during tourism development in the Old Town of Lhasa is without question. Access to other assets, mainly economic, human and social assets is also essential. The accessible economic assets, human assets and social assets form as secondary elements in the assets arrangement (Jansen-Verbeke, 1986). The access to these assets greatly and directly affects the capability to adopt tourism as a livelihoods choice at both the community and personal levels. They are necessities for tourism development, but play different roles when compared to tourism assets, because they are transferrable, and can also be used elsewhere as the basis for livelihoods diversification.

(4) Following the “assets-activity-outcomes” logic, a decision arises for individuals as to whether or not to take up tourism as a livelihoods choice under a broader livelihoods portfolio. This choice is directly affected by the availability of relevant

economic, human and social assets, as well as the individuals' priorities and personal aspirations about future. The limited assets are transferrable in different livelihoods strategies, thus it is important to note tourism is only one section of the income portfolio and it may not be everyone's choice, because people have different priorities and preferences. This is also especially relevant for people in poor areas are concerned, because people in these areas often do not gain their income by a specific job, but by a combination of activities (Ellis, 2000; Wall, 2007).

Here in the context of the Old Town of Lhasa, Tibetan "Post 80s" youth can be involved in various jobs induced by tourism development. They may work, for example, in hotels, restaurants, tourism agencies, tourism transportation, related government units, and some informal sectors as vendors and offering traditional arts displays. For some, tourism may be the main income generator. For others, they may not be willing to be involved in tourism activities, and thus tourism may not be directly related to their livelihoods in the near future.

(5) With tourism taken as one of the livelihoods strategies (major or minor), corresponding outcomes are expected. The outcomes are important. They indicate the efficiency and effectiveness of livelihood strategies. The ideal outcomes of a specific activity should be multi-faceted, for instance, increase the income, enhance the well-being, stimulate the empowerment and democracy, protect the culture, and reduce the individuals' vulnerability (Chambers & Conway, 1991; IFAD, 2007; Zhang, *et al.*, 2008).

The outcomes of tourism as a livelihood strategy are expected to be sustainable in the long term both at individual/household and community/regional level. From the information elicited from the foundation studies, sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes not only cover the traditional economic, social and environmental/ecological dimensions, but also include cultural, institutional, political, and technological dimensions of development.

(6) The final point of this adjusted framework is that it should be treated as a dynamic and evolving process, rather than static. Based on the assets arrangement and

consideration of the accessibility to these assets, Tibetan “Post 80s” hosts in this study can combine and transform those assets in the building of livelihoods, which enables them as far as possible to meet their material and their experiential needs. They can also deploy and enhance their capacities, which help to expand their assets bases in return. In summary, it is an ongoing process.

3.7 Summary of the Foundation Studies

The research in this chapter constitutes the foundation studies. It is crucial for the research logic outlined in the chapter 2 and to achieve the overall aims of this thesis. The analysis elicited five categories of tourism assets in the Old Town of Lhasa. It examined the classification of tourists and the corresponding stereotypes towards different groups of tourists. Relevant assets that are necessary for tourism development, perceptions and aspirations to tourism jobs, and expected tourism outcomes were also explored. The assessment not only offers solid information for questionnaire based study, but also provides sufficient contextual emic voices about the research context, which is essential for future interpretation. In summary, the efforts in this chapter provide the important context dependant information to study the “Post 80s” youth view tourism in their distinctive location in the Old Town of Lhasa, Tibet.

The most important conceptual output of the foundation studies in this chapter is the adjustment of the SL framework in the Old Town of Lhasa tourism’s context from the local “Post 80s” perspectives. The adjusted framework informs the organization of the next questionnaire based study. The adjusted SL framework broadens our conception of livelihoods in such a way that may help rethink the nature, culture, and content of interventions so that they are more consonant with the diverse ways in which people make a living and build their worlds. Rather than focus on natural resources for pro-poor intervention, tourism has the possibility to be a livelihoods alternative; youth has the potential to take more responsibility for a prosperous future. While Figure 3.9 presented in this chapter corresponds to the context of the Old Town in Lhasa and

“Post 80s” youth, the fundamental thinking represented within this figure can also be applied to other livelihoods activities.

Chapter 4 – Assessing Tourism Futures in the Old Town of Lhasa: The Questionnaire-based Study

Chapter Structure

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4.6 Summary

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the research of the questionnaire based study in the Old

Town of Lhasa. This study was designed and conducted based on the insiders' (emic) information from previous foundation studies presented in Chapter 3. The adjusted SL framework (see Figure 3.9) was used to guide the detailed formulation of the questions. The research respondents are still Tibetan "Post 80s" youth, including both indigenous youth and migrant youth.

Compared with the foundation studies in Chapter 3, this questionnaire based study has two notable characteristics. Firstly, due to its nature, it reaches a wider audience, and has the ability to obtain a broader representation towards tourism related futures and related livelihoods concerns. The other and more important characteristic resides in the holistic approach to the interpretation of the results. Specifically, the holistic interpretation includes attention to the socio-cultural and political issues which deserve specific consideration in the Tibetan context. This kind of interpretation is chosen, because tourism is contextualized both by its specific location and wider issues (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2003; Gu & Ryan, 2012; McKercher & du Cros, 2002).

The holistic approach in research and interpretation has also been emphasised by scholars in the area of sustainable livelihoods studies (Daskon & Binns, 2010; Petersen & Pedersen, 2010; Tao & Wall, 2009). These recent research efforts all argue that culture plays an important role at all levels of the framework. They have stressed the importance of cultural issues in livelihoods sustainability and argued that enhancement of livelihoods for the poor deserves more attention. Indeed, individuals and communities have their own values, meanings, customs, and knowledge system that affirm identity and diversity and play a key role in sustaining livelihoods. For this specific study site, the Old Town of Lhasa, the author put cultural values and other contextual issues at a very central position (see Figure 3.9). In this site, three sets of cultural values form a context for this holistic interpretation. These values include the traditional values (Tibetan Buddhism, and Confucianism) (COTRI & PATA, 2010; Fan, 1995; Shin & Inoguchi, 2009; Szeto, 2010), the modern culture (influenced by Western culture) (Stanat, 2005), and the primary contemporary and sometimes immediate concern with stability (Fu, 2010; Klieger, 1992; Wei, 2010). Confucianism is an important component of the traditional values (Dorjie, 2004; Sommer, 2010). Consequently, it is incorporated in the consideration and interpretation. The glue between these values and the

survey results is the emic information from previously conducted photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups.

4.2 Aims of the Questionnaire based Study

The aims of this questionnaire based study derive from the main aims 1 and 4 of the thesis, which are,

Aim 1: To assess Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and aspirations about tourism and its futures in the Old Town of Lhasa.

Aim 4: To extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and the emic approach in a non-western context.

Deriving from the main aims, the specific aims of this study include:

- 1) To represent Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s views on five sets of tourism assets, the primary assets relevant to tourism livelihoods choice;
- 2) To explore the mediating roles of the secondary and tertiary elements during tourism livelihoods choice, and thereby reflect the wide contextual issues which operate on and through tourism;
- 3) To understand Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and preferences towards tourism as a livelihoods choice in the next 5-10 years;
- 4) To identify attributes to which local “Post 80s” attach importance, and evaluate the expected performance of these attributes, and thus provide implications for tourism planning and development at the destination;
- 5) To examine whether there are any sub-groups of Tibetan “Post 80s” holding very different representations towards tourism in the same community;

It can be noted that the specific aims 1) - 4) to be explored in this study overlap with the aims examined in the foundation studies (Chapter 3). The difference is that they are working at different levels with varied samples to achieve the total aims of this thesis.

4.3 Research methods: The questionnaire based survey

As suggested in the introduction and aims section, the main research method for

this study is a questionnaire based survey. This section illustrates how the questionnaire was constructed, how sampling was conducted and how the survey was delivered, collected and analysed.

4.3.1 The design and structure of the questionnaire survey

(1) The design of the questionnaire survey

In designing tourism community studies, some established scholars (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Ryan, 2011; Wall & Mathieson, 2006) criticised the top-down approach to deriving measures and indicators in tourism settings. They further argued that site-specific indicators should complement general indicators both because of different environmental, economic and cultural circumstances, and also because of differing local priorities. The researcher of this thesis agrees with this view and thus involved the local stakeholders' (young hosts here) voices in designing the research. The questions asked reflect both local youth's aspirations and incorporate their local knowledge. This questionnaire design philosophy corresponds with the criteria of useful indicators (Kreutzwiser, 1993): that they are sensitive to temporal change and spatial variation, that they have predictive or anticipatory capability, and they hold conceptual validity and relevance to management problems. In this particular study, the adjusted SL framework offers guidelines about what questions to ask. Additionally, local "voices" from the foundation studies were fully used to construct detailed questions and ensure that the questions asked made sense to the respondents.

The questionnaire survey was firstly presented in Mandarin. It was later sent to six indigenous and migrant Tibetan "Post 80s" youth in the Old Town of Lhasa as a pilot study. According to social representations theory, pretesting the survey content and language is the way to ensure that the insiders' (emic) perspective is maintained in the questions (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). In this particular research context, the pilot test was also conducted to avoid asking inappropriate questions that insulted local customs and/or offended respondents in terms of infringing on political and sensitive religious issues. Clearly political and religious issues are relevant to the study. The researcher avoided explicitly addressing or including such topics in written form. This careful question planning can be seen as a compromise strategy so that the author, research assistants and those who

participated in the survey were better protected from any external censure or disruption to the work. However, these issues were accessible through oral communication, including interviews and the focus groups conducted earlier, as well as by personal communications with local youth and personal observations about the researched society.

Following the pilot study, the formal questionnaire (see the English edition at Appendix III) was translated into Tibetan by one Tibetan undergraduate who had majored in Mandarin-Tibetan Translation in Tibet University, and then back-translated into Tibetan by a Tibetan postgraduate in the same major. This technique was used to correct any expressions lost in the translation process and to improve the reliability of the translation (Graciano, 2001). The Tibetan edition questionnaire was 16 pages in length, and was used only when the respondents had some difficulty in understanding Mandarin. Both the Mandarin and Tibetan edition questionnaires were used for coding.

(2) The content of the questionnaire survey

The questionnaire contained six components based on the adjusted SL framework. These sections were tourism assets and development scenarios, other assets (economic, social and human) and development scenarios, contextual issues and development scenarios, tourism as a livelihood strategy scenarios, tourism outcomes scenarios, and demographic and psychological information (see Appendix III).

The first component, tourism assets and development scenarios, presented five sets of the tourism assets, namely, the world heritage sites, the religious sites, the Tibetan traditional yards, daily life and customs, and Tibetan medicine. The identification of these five sets of tourism assets was based on photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups analysis. A concise description of each sub-scenario with associated images was initially presented. Questions on perceived values for tourism development, perceived difficulty of development, desirability for future development, as well as their preferred tourist group for these specific tourism attractions were then asked. An example of these scenarios is presented below (Figure 4.1). Similar presenting styles were adopted for other tourism assets and development scenarios (see Appendix III for details of all components)

The world heritage sites in Lhasa old urban district (i.e. The Potala Palace, the Jokhang Temple, and the Norbu Linka) attract millions of tourists every year.



1) How valuable do you think these world heritage sites are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Neutral Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use these world heritage sites for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Neutral Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to these world heritage sites?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of these world heritage sites in the next 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much ----- Not at all				
Strictly obey the carrying capacity, keep the current style of cultural sightseeing	5	4	3	2	1
Improve the facilities (e.g. info centre, identification system), maximize other resources (e.g. SnowVillage), and relieve its pressure on core areas	5	4	3	2	1
Effective promotion of winter tourism, and relieve seasonality pressure	5	4	3	2	1

If other styles, please describe _____ 5)

5) For these world heritage sites, what kind of tourists would you like to attract in the next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans

- Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others _____

Figure 4. 1: The world heritage sites and tourism development scenario

The second part of the questionnaire was concerned with other assets and tourism development, namely the economic assets, human assets and social/political assets. For each asset, two to three questions were constructed. The third section, dealing with the contextual issues, particularly the vulnerability issues and policy, institution and process (PIP) issues, included five questions (see appendix III).

The fourth part of the questionnaire focussed on tourism as a livelihoods choice. It explored the current construct of income generation system, and then examined the respondents' attitudes towards tourism's role in the income system and regional development in the next 5-10 years. The respondents' degree of willingness to be involved in tourism, concerns and reasons for that choice, and attitudes towards setting up their own tourism business were also assessed (see Appendix III). From these questions, their overall attitudes to tourism as a livelihoods choice could be assessed.

The next section was concerned with tourism outcomes. Nine items, elicited from previous focus groups study, were used to explore the composition of sustainable tourism livelihoods. These items cover economic, social-cultural, and environmental aspects, which are appropriate to the Lhasa context. They are in line with those of World Commission on Environment and previous research (Gössling, Hall, & Weaver, 2009; Wall, 1993), but differ from them in the additional emphasis given to social-cultural issues in Lhasa. Respondents were surveyed to determine their view of the importance of these issues and the expected performance in the next 5-10 years. This section anticipates the technique of importance-performance analysis (IPA) to identify the issues that the local youth value. This procedure is intended to help provide considerations for future planning and development work.

The last part of the questionnaire sought demographic and psychological profile information. Pearce (2005b) has suggested that the choices for how to describe public opinion and community members are varied and it is inadequate to use single demographic descriptors. He further argued for the value of incorporating psychological profiles (Pearce, 2009a). This thesis embraces these concerns, and combines demographic descriptors and some psychographic descriptors in the questionnaire design. The principle psychographic descriptor adopted here is the respondents' tendencies to be optimistic, a factor which has the ability to inform

respondents' future perceptions and preferences (Gu & Ryan, 2009; McWhirter & McWhirter, 2008; Pearce, 2005).

In this questionnaire based survey, the majority of the questions are objective and answers are required on five-point Likert scales. Five-point scales, rather than seven-point scales, are preferred, because the research respondents are unfamiliar with survey tools, and it is easier for them to choose from five scale points. For all the questions, no matter whether they are scale based or not, they are designed to accommodate all possible answers, by providing the choice of “not sure” or “others (please specify)”.

4.3.2 Data collection and sampling

Four indigenous Tibetan undergraduates from the University of Tibet were employed as research assistants. All of them were born and grew up in the Lhasa urban area. The advantages of employing them were that, as locals, they were familiar with local culture and knew how to communicate with their peers in a casual but respectful way.

Before handing out the questionnaires for collection, training was organized. Two issues were particularly emphasised. The first was to make sure that the research assistants not only understood the meaning of the questions, but were also able to explain these questions to the respondents if necessary. The second issue was the management of the collection process. The assistants' data collection areas were arranged to match the places where they lived. It was suggested that they visited respondents who lived close to their family. It was also suggested that they conduct the survey in a face to face mode. So in this sense, their neighbours, friends and relatives were the first target of the survey. The assistants were advised to visit small, family-owned tea houses, instead of the large ones. This concern was raised because of the complex structure of customers in the larger sized tea houses, who might be more sensitive to a survey conducted by an overseas based researcher. If any new ideas or issues emerged, they were recommended to write them down in the margin of the survey paper or otherwise record the issues.

In order to access migrant Tibetan respondents, additional assistance was approached from twelve newly made contacts, including some participants the researcher met during the interviews and focus groups. Following a snowballing

approach, questionnaires were delivered to their social circles. To achieve a relatively diversified sampling and enhance the validity of the survey, only 5-10 copies of the questionnaires were given to each person.

Criteria for sampling were explained to both the formal and informal research assistants and local contacts. Respondents to be given surveys had to meet the following criteria:

- Born in 1980s (“Post 80s”);
- Having good connection with the Old Town of Lhasa (e.g. living/working there, or had been living/working in Lhasa urban area for at least 2 years);
- Willing to be surveyed.

The researcher visited some key organizations including Lhasa Tourism Administration, School of Tourism and Foreign Studies and School of Tibetan Studies in Tibet University, Tibet Academy of Social Sciences, and some travel agencies to recruit respondents. The author explained the purpose of her visit and the questionnaire survey. Assistance was generously offered by leaders in these organizations, who asked their “Post 80s” staff to fill in the questionnaire. These “Post 80s” staff included both indigenous Tibetans and new migrants.

In all, 303 copies of questionnaires were delivered, and 258 copies of the questionnaires were returned and properly completed. The size of the sample was considered to be satisfactory to explore the aims of the research with a desirable balance being achieved amongst key demographic variables. Due to the length of the survey, most of them were conducted face to face. Thus, the proportion of completed questions was relatively high, with an average level of 85.1%. The key statistics for survey completions are shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4. 1: Questionnaires distribution in the Old Town of Lhasa

Survey distributions	Number distributed	Number returned & fully completed	Total fully completed response rate
Indigenous Tibetan youth	110	83	75.5%
Migrant Tibetan youth	116	103	88.8%
Organizations in Lhasa	77	72	93.5%
Total	303	258	85.1%

Table 4.2 below presents the specific information on the demographic and psychological profiles of the respondents.

Table 4. 2: Respondents' demographic profiles

Demographic profiles		Frequency (N=258)	Percent
Gender	Male	149	57.8
	Female	109	42.2
Regional origins	Indigenous Tibetan	134	51.9
	Migrants to Tibet	124	48.1
Age	Born in 1980-1984	106	41.1
	Born in 1985-1989	152	58.9
Education level	Junior middle school or under	27	10.5
	Senior middle school or equal	71	27.5
	College/university	138	53.5
	Postgraduate or above	22	8.5
Religious status	Devout believers	81	31.4
	Periodic temple attendees	65	25.2
	Not religious believers	112	43.4
Contact with tourists	Always	20	7.8
	Often	57	22.1
	Sometimes	139	53.9
	Seldom	42	16.3
Benefits from tourism	Totally benefitted	27	10.5
	Benefitted to some extent	94	36.4
	Not directly benefitted	97	37.6
	Not benefitted at all	40	15.5

The sample consisted of 57.8 % males and 42.2 % females. In terms of regional origins, the indigenous Tibetans (including Tibetan, Menba and Luoba ethnic groups, who are ethnically Tibetan) and migrant Tibetans (mostly new migrants, including Hui, Han and other ethnic groups, mainly from inland China) constitute nearly equally proportions of the sample. In terms of these key demographic attributes, the sample was suited to the purpose of this study.

As required in the data collection process, all of the respondents were born in 1980s, thus all belonged to “Post 80s” as defined earlier in this thesis. A few more

of the respondents (58.9%) were born in 1985-1989. This might have resulted from the snowballing method during the sampling. All the four Tibetan research assistants were in this younger age group, and as a result, the respondents they located tended to be younger.

In response to education background, half of the respondents identified themselves as holding a college/university degree, while two fifths of the respondents were educated at or below middle school educated. This was not consistent with the education background of Lhasa society, especially for the Tibetan group. The enrolment rate of colleges/universities was 23.4% in Lhasa in 2010 (the equivalent data in the Lhasa urban area should be higher, however, this data is not available at university enrolment level) (CTRC, 2009). An independent-samples t test was undertaken and revealed that there were significant differences between the indigenous Tibetan group and the migrant Tibetan group in terms of education level ($t=-4.07$; $df=252.3$; 2-tailed $p=.000$). The migrant youth to Lhasa had significant higher education levels than their indigenous Tibetan counterparts. This result fits with Ma and Danzenglunzhu's (2006) finding that migration is an important phenomenon in Lhasa and that the migrants are much better educated (e.g. the overall illiteracy level of indigenous Tibetans was 9 times higher than that of the migrants in 2006). In this study, nearly half of the questionnaire surveys were completed by the migrant youth. On the other hand, when conducting the household questionnaire survey, it was common that the best educated youth in the house was asked by their family to represent. The identical phenomenon occurred in the surveys in the tea houses. Arguably, Tibetans are modest, especially less well educated women, and lack confidence in dealing with strangers and paperwork.

Religion is influential in Lhasa's society. This is reflected in the profiles of the sample (Table 4.2). Generally, more than half of the respondents believed in a religion, while nearly one third of them considered themselves as devoted believers. This result can be contrasted with ordinary youth's religious belief status in modern China (ifeng.com, 2010; soho.com, 2011). On the whole, most Chinese attitudes towards religions are not specific, non-exclusive and also not necessarily rigorous (COTRI & PATA, 2010). The cross-tabulation of religion and regional origins cross-tabulation with Chi-square test indicated the influence of religion in

Lhasa is evident ($df=2$, $\chi^2=144.3$, $p=.000$) (see Table 4.3). More than half of the indigenous Tibetan “Post 80s” regarded themselves as disciple believers, while another third believed in religion to some extent. The contrast was that most of the migrant Tibetans (81.5%) did not link themselves with any religion.

Table 4. 3: Religion and regional origin cross-tabulation analysis

Regional origin \ Religion belief	Indigenous Tibetan youth	Migrant Tibetan youth	Total
Devoted believers	74 (55.2%)	7 (5.6%)	81
Periodic temple attendees	49 (36.6%)	16 (12.9%)	65
Not religious believers	11 (8.2%)	101(81.5%)	112
Total	134 (100%)	124 (100%)	258

From the perspectives of the contact with tourists and benefits from tourism industry, it seems that a small proportion of the respondents were involved in the tourism industry at the time of the research. Most had some contacts with tourists and were aware of some tourism outcomes. This characteristic of the sample may complement previous research on the reserve gaze where the samples have been hosts involved in tourism (Chan, 2006; Maoz, 2006; Uriely, Maoz, & Reichel, 2009).

To conclude, the sample for this survey was well distributed in terms of gender, nationality, age and occupations (tourist contacts and tourism benefits). In particular, the major groups, indigenous Tibetan respondents and migrant Tibetan respondents, shared some commonalities, but also significantly differed in some areas, especially in terms of the education background, length of residence and their religious status. The relationships among these demographic factors and the response of the samples to other issues will be explored in the following sections.

4.3.3 Data analysis

SPSS (edition 20.0) was used to undertake data analysis in this study. Several statistical methods were applied in the analyses according to the different types of data available and different purposes for each individual aim. These methods include descriptive analysis, repeated measures one-way ANOVA, mixed-model factorial ANOVA, cluster analysis, discriminant analysis, cross-tabulation, one-

way ANOVA, independent t-test, and the importance-performance analysis (IPA). The syntax function was also used in this study for the creation of new variables and indices, as well as for the development of tailored programs.

General attitudes towards tourism futures were initially approached through cross tabulation analysis. Three sub-groups (the very positive group, the positive group, and negative group) were established by comparing their views towards present tourism and future tourism. Since the boundaries among these groups were quite clear, syntax, instead of cluster analysis, was used to define these subgroups.

In terms of tourism assets and development scenarios, repeated measures one-way ANOVA, mixed-model factorial ANOVA, and descriptive analysis were used to test the overall attitudes towards different tourism assets and the sub-groups of attitudes. Analysis like this, examining both overall views and sub-representations, is consistent with social representations theory, and thus allows an understanding of diverse views within a society.

In particular, cluster analysis was employed as a *posteriori* segmentation approach that detects the mutually exclusive segments based on attributes (Brida, *et al.*, 2010). Thus, it is consistent with the propositions and approaches of social representations theory and the emic approach. In this thesis, cluster analysis is a key technique to understand and think about the views of Tibetan youth concerning tourism. Social representations theory recognizes that society can be heterogeneous and made of sub-groups, varying in terms of their reaction to tourism (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). Similarly, the cluster analysis has compatible emic elements, because in effect it allocates respondents to groups and the underlying patterns of community reactions are defined in the process (Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). The fundamental objective of cluster analysis is to derive a cluster solution in which between-group differences are maximized and within-group variations minimized (Fife-Shaw 1993, as cited in Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). In short, it has the possibility to offer explicit evidence that the hosts in the community and their opinions are not homogeneous.

In this study, a comparison of members of each of the sub-groups produced by the cluster approach was carried out to identify their distinctive characteristics and to enable each group to be appropriately labelled. To serve this purpose, discriminant

analysis, one-way ANOVA, and independent t-test were applied selectively. Discriminant analysis is a statistical technique that enables researchers to investigate and simultaneously describe the significant differences between two or more mutually exclusive groups on several dependent variables (Brown and Tinsley, 1983; Diekhoff, 1992; as cited in Pearce & Lee, 2005). It helps identify predictor variables that contribute most to the distinction among sub-groups. One-way ANOVA was used to examine the profiles of individual groups and ascertain whether or not particular demographic categories were more inclined to be associated with members of one group or another.

Importance-performance analysis (IPA) was adopted to analyse the tourism outcomes. It is widely used to set priorities that are based on the “voices of customers” (Martilla & James, 1977; as cited in Mikulić & Prebežac, 2008), which in this context are the voices from the Tibetan youth. The scores of the importance and expected performance of potential tourism outcome attributes which the respondents had emphasised will be depicted in a two dimensional grid. By noting a given attribute’s position within the gridlines of the matrix, managerial decisions with regard to this attribute can be highlighted.

4.4 Overall Representations: Results and Discussions

This section presents the results of the questionnaire-based study, based on the sequence of the aims. The relevant discussion directly follows the research results. The discussion section undertakes a holistic approach, incorporating the social-cultural, economic and political issues in the Old Town of Lhasa and in China more generally. Special interest was paid to the cultural values of the study site.

4.4.1 General attitudes towards tourism futures

It is believed that general attitudes towards an industry’s future largely influence people’s decision to select this specific industry as a livelihoods choice or not (Bosco, Styles, & Ward, 2005; Henderson & Robertson, 1999; Kusluvan & Kusluvan, 2000; Moy & Lee, 2002). In tourism, some have argued that the perceptions of the prospect of the industry are one of the most influential factors determining the potential entrants’ decision (Kusluvan, 2003). Recent studies in the Chinese context have supported this view (Jiang & Tribe, 2009; Lu & Adler, 2009). This thesis explores the general attitudes towards tourism in the Old Town

of Lhasa in the next 5-10 years with the view that this approach may be helpful to understand different aspects of tourism livelihoods.

4.4.1.1 The general attitudes towards tourism futures

The general attitudes were approached by asking two concise questions:

- Thinking about tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa, how would you describe its condition?

Very good, good, neutral, poor, very poor, not sure

- Thinking about the state of tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa in the next 5-10 years, would you say the state of tourism industry will be

Better than it is now, the same as it is now, worse than it is now, not sure.

By cross-tabulating the answers of these two questions (see Table 4.4), it is easy to classify the respondents into future positivists and pessimists groups (Pearce, 2005b). The respondents who chose ‘not sure’ to either of the questions were excluded from this analysis. In all, 237 out of 258 cases were valid. In Table 4.4, those respondents who fell in the dark shading cells were defined as very positive. Those who fell in the light shading were considered as moderately positive, and others were defined as negative.

Table 4. 4: The future optimists and pessimists classification

Future Present		Perceived state of the future tourism in 5-10 years		
		Better than now	About the same as now	Worse than now
Perceived state of present tourism	Very good	26	3	1
	Good	82	8	2
	Neutral	76	18	6
	Poor	7	3	3
	Very poor	1	0	1

Since the borders for each sub-group were very clear, syntax was used to re-code these cases into three sub-groups, *very positive group*, *moderate positive group* and *negative group*. The very positive group was content with the current status and held very optimistic views about the future. The moderately positive group

members either thought the current situation was not very satisfactory but the future would be better, or they were quite satisfied with the current status and thought the future would be similar. The negative group did not expect any improvement in the future, and most of them did not consider the current tourism development was good. The basic distribution profile is presented in Table 4.5. Nearly half of the respondents were very positive, while 14.3% of the youth fell into the negative group

Table 4. 5: Sub-groups by attitudes towards tourism future

Sub-Groups	Frequency (N=237)	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very positive group	108	45.6	45.6
Moderately positive group	95	40.1	85.7
Negative group	34	14.3	100.0

4.4.1.2 Determining variables of general attitudes

To determine the predictor variables that contribute most to the distinction between the general attitudes sub-groups, discriminant analysis was performed on the three identified groups with perceptions of current tourism performance and expected performance of future tourism as discriminant variables.

Within the various methods of discriminant analysis, the direct method was chosen for this study. This approach involves estimating the discriminant function so that all the predictors are included simultaneously in the analysis (Diekhoff, 1992). This method is appropriate when there are relatively few predictors and when the researcher wants the discrimination based on all predictors (Pearce & Lee, 2005). Table 4.6 indicates the excellent separation of the groups by discriminant function 1. Function 1 accounted for 90.6% of the explained variance, with an eigenvalue of 5.65, a canonical correlation of 0.92, and appropriate Chi-square test values ($\chi^2=550.33$, $p<0.01$).

Table 4. 6: Tests of significance of the discriminant functions level

Function	Eigenvalue	Variance (%)	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	Sig.
1	5.65 ^a	90.6	.92	.095	550.33	.000
2	.59 ^a	9.4	.61	.630	108.00	.000

a. First 2 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

In determining which predictor variable contributes the most to function 1, discriminant function coefficients and loadings were examined. These are listed in Table 4.7 in order of magnitude. Given the low inter-correlation among the predictors, an examination of the magnitudes of the standardized discriminant function coefficients for the study suggests that *perceptions of future performance* is a more important predictor in discriminating the overall attitudes among the sub-groups than *perceptions of current status*. The interpretation can be made from an examination of the discriminant loadings (Table 4.7).

Table 4. 7: Canonical discriminant function 1 coefficients and loadings

Variables	Unstandardized coefficients	Standardized coefficients	Discriminant loadings
Perceptions of present status	1.51	.80	.39
Perceptions of future situations	3.66	1.00	.68
(Constant)	-8.22	N/A	N/A

4.4.1.3 Summary of the findings

There are two major findings concerning Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s general attitudes towards tourism futures in the Old Town of Lhasa in next 5-10 years. Firstly, a hegemonic representation was revealed, that is, there is a dominant and widely accepted understanding towards a particular issue (Moscovici, 1988). More specifically, general optimism was observed among the Tibetan youth in the Old Town of Lhasa. The majority of the respondents (85.7%) were positive in assessing tourism’s futures in the next 5-10 years. Among these optimists, nearly half of them (45.6%) were very positive. They thought highly of the current tourism, and also expected a better future performance.

The second point about the general attitudes towards tourism futures is that perceptions of future performance are more valuable than perceptions of current performance in determining the general attitudes group. The importance of perceptions of future performance, to some extent, justifies the value of forward looking studies.

4.4.2 Tourism assets and development

Five sets of tourism assets, namely, world heritage sites, religious sites, traditional Tibetan yards, daily life and customs, and Tibetan medicine, were identified in the foundation studies. Among the five sets of tourism assets, the category of the world heritage sites was the only group of assets that had been developed as tourism attractions at the time of research (2010 - 2011), while the other four assets were, arguably, under-developed (see details at Chapter 3).

The core aim of this component of the study is *to represent Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s views on five sets of tourism assets, the primary assets identified during tourism livelihoods choice*. To be specific, it assesses and compares the value, difficulty, and desirability judgments towards the five sets of tourism assets. Further it explores the young hosts’ preferences for different tourist groups visiting the types of tourism assets. Investigations into the meanings and interpretations assigned to these (potential) tourism attraction assets are of particular importance in the identification of elements that residents will support or oppose for tourism purposes.

To detect the overall representations of tourism assets, repeated measures one-way ANOVA was adopted, because of its strength in detecting differences between multiple correlated group means. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA is frequently used in longitudinal studies, exploring whether there is any significant change with time. Here in this thesis, it was adopted to assess what were the Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions of values, perceived difficulty, and development desirability of different tourism assets, and further to examine whether or not these assets were perceived as significantly different. In addition to repeated measures one-way ANOVA, descriptive analysis was employed in the preferences for tourist groups study.

In this section, the individuals who chose ‘not sure’ for any of the questions under tourism assets and development scenario were omitted as missing values. In all, 204 cases out of 258 were considered as valid values.

4.4.2.1 Perceived value of five tourism assets

(1) Results

Table 4.8 below presents the means of perceived values, their standard deviations and sample sizes in response to the five tourism assets. Examination of the descriptive analysis suggests that the world heritage sites were perceived as the most valuable tourism assets, with very high agreement (the lowest standard deviation), while the religious sites and traditional yards were perceived as the least valuable tourism assets. Positive but intermediate scores were given to life and customs assets and Tibetan medicine assets.

Table 4. 8: Descriptive statistics for the perceived values of tourism assets by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth

Tourism Assets Category	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
World heritage sites	1.20	.57	204
Religious sites	1.75	.86	204
Traditional yards	1.70	.73	204
Daily life and customs	1.66	.81	204
Tibetan Medicine	1.62	.74	204

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very valuable, 5=not valuable at all

Repeated measures one-way ANOVA includes a series of tests. *Mauchly's Test of Sphericity*, *F-test* and *the multiple comparisons of means* were firstly conducted. The probability value of *Mauchly's Test of Sphericity* (.007) (see Table 4.9) indicates that the variances between the five sets of scores were not equal. Under the scenario of lack of homogeneity (equality) of variance, a statistical correction, *Tests of Within-Subjects Effects* (see Table 4.10) was carried out to provide an appropriate adjustment.

Table 4. 9: Mauchly's Test of Sphericity for perceived value of tourism assets by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth

Within Subjects Effect	Mauchly's W	Approx. Chi-Square	df	Sig.	Epsilon ^a		
					Greenhouse-Geisser	Huynh-Feldt	Lower-bound
value	.89	22.80	9	.007	.94	.96	.25

Tests the null hypothesis that the error covariance matrix of the orthonormalized transformed dependent variables is proportional to an identity matrix.

a. May be used to adjust the degrees of freedom for the averaged tests of significance. Corrected tests are displayed in the Tests of Within-Subjects Effects table.

b. Design: Intercept within subjects design: value

Table 4.10 (*Tests of Within-Subjects Effects*) displays the ANOVA results. The low-bound test values, which are the most conservative values among the four values (O'Connor, n.d.), shows that there was a significant difference somewhere among these five scenarios ($F=24.18, p=.000$). Moreover, the large partial eta squared value (.106) indicated that there was a relatively large effect, because it explains 10.6% of differences in a diversified social world.

Table 4. 10: The comparison of perceived value of developing different tourism assets by within-subjects effects analysis

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
value	Sphericity Assumed	40.20	4	10.05	24.18	.000	.106
	Greenhouse-Geisser	40.20	3.76	10.69	24.18	.000	.106
	Huynh-Feldt	40.20	3.84	10.46	24.18	.000	.106
	Lower-bound	40.20	1.00	40.20	24.18	.000	.106
Error (value)	Sphericity Assumed	337.40	812	.42			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	337.40	763.69	.44			
	Huynh-Feldt	337.40	779.91	.43			
	Lower-bound	337.40	203.00	1.66			

To detect where the differences were located, *Pairwise Comparisons* was employed. Table 4.11 reveals that the perceived value of the world heritage sites

as tourism attractions was significantly higher than perceived value of the rest of the identified tourism assets, while there were no significant differences among the perceived value of the remaining assets. The pattern of differences observed from *Pairwise comparisons* is also reflected in Figure 4.2. In this figure, the attributes (tourism assets) located in the same dashed circle were perceived at the same statistical level of development value at the probability level of 95%.

Table 4. 11: Pairwise Comparisons of perceived value of tourism assets

(I) value	(J) value	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^a	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^a	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
World heritage sites	Religious sites	-.55*	.06	.000	-.68	-.43
	Traditional yards	-.50*	.06	.000	-.628	-.38
	Daily life & customs	-.46*	.06	.000	-.58	-.34
	Tibetan Medicine	-.42*	.06	.000	-.54	-.30
Religious sites	World heritage sites	.55*	.06	.000	.43	.68
	Traditional yards	.054	.07	.444	-.09	.19
	Daily life & customs	.093	.07	.202	-.05	.24
	Tibetan Medicine	.132	.07	.054	-.00	.27
Traditional yards	World heritage sites	.50*	.06	.000	.38	.62
	Religious sites	-.05	.07	.444	-.19	.09
	Daily life & customs	.04	.06	.500	-.08	.15
	Tibetan Medicine	.08	.06	.204	-.04	.20
Daily life & customs	World heritage sites	.46*	.06	.000	.34	.58
	Religious sites	-.09	.07	.202	-.24	.058
	Traditional yards	-.04	.06	.500	-.15	.08
	Tibetan Medicine	.04	.06	.518	-.08	.16
Tibetan Medicine	World heritage sites	.42*	.06	.000	.30	.54
	Religious sites	-.13	.07	.054	-.27	.00
	Traditional yards	-.08	.06	.204	-.20	.04
	Daily life & customs	-.04	.06	.518	-.16	.08

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

a. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

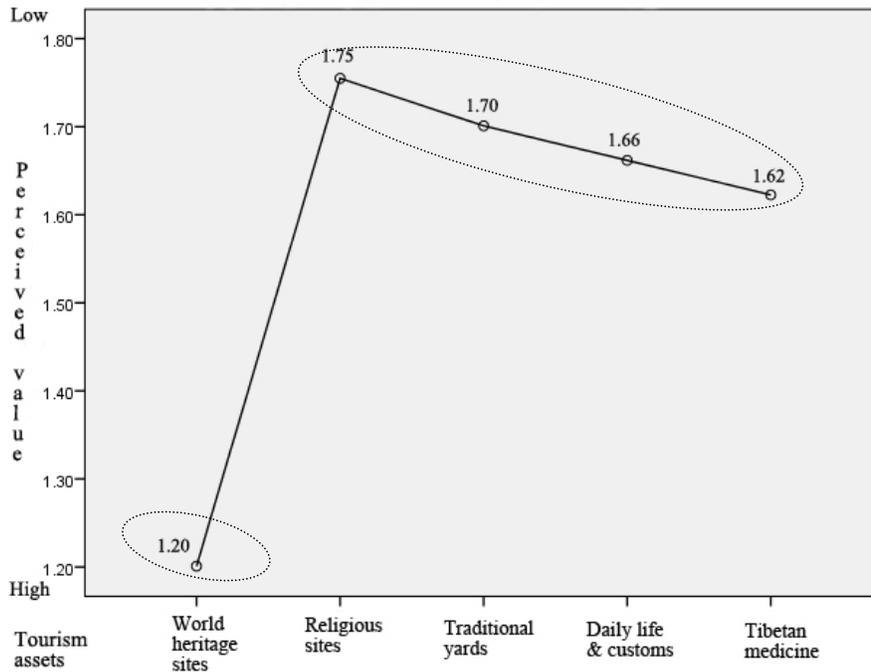


Figure 4. 2: Perceived values of tourism assets

(2) Discussion

The world heritage sites as tourism assets were accorded the highest acknowledgement in terms of development value. This significantly higher value is relevant within the social contexts of the Old Town of Lhasa. The world heritage sites, in essence, are religious sites. They were constructed as religious sites or palaces and recreation venues for theocratic leaders (Gao, 2007; Larsen & Sinding-Larsen, 2001). Their religious function, though not their political role, continues in current society. New functions, such as tourism have been injected since the beginning of tourism industry in Tibet in early 1980s. Though sensitive, these sites have always been at the forefront of tourism development in Tibet and have acted as the most influential landmarks in Tibet (Zhang, 1996). Their value, both spiritual and commercial (tourism use), has been widely accepted.

4.4.2.2 Perceived difficulty of five tourism assets

This section explores the overall representations of perceived degrees of difficulty in development. The items employed to analyse the difficulty issues are the second

set of questions in the five scenarios of tourism assets and development (see Appendix III). One example of these questions is presented as follows,

How difficult do you think it will be to use these world heritage sites for future tourism development in next 5-10 years?

Very difficult Difficult Neutral Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

(1) Results

The descriptive analysis results for perceived difficulty are provided in Table 4.12. The means of perceived difficulty fell between 2.50 to 2.81, which indicated that all of them were perceived as fairly difficult to develop. Of all the assets, the world heritage sites were regarded as the hardest to develop, while the daily life and customs assets were considered to be the easiest to develop.

Table 4. 12: Descriptive statistics for perceived difficulty of developing tourism assets by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
World heritage sites	2.50	.95	204
Religious sites	2.62	.95	204
Traditional yards	2.79	.94	204
Daily life and customs	2.81	.94	204
Tibetan Medicine	2.79	.98	204

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very difficult, 5=very easy

The *p* value of *Mauchly's Test of Sphericity* was .353. *Tests of Within-Subjects Effects* was adopted to provide more information. The test (with $F=3.93$, $p < .05$) indicated that there were some significant differences in perceived development difficulty among the five different scenarios. The partial eta squared value ($\eta_p^2 = .033$) suggested a 3.3% value of differences within groups.

Pairwise Comparisons were employed again to locate where the significant differences lay. Table 4.13 displays the results of the multiple comparisons, which suggests that these five tourism attraction assets can be classified into two separate

groups. The perceived difficulty of developing world heritage sites and religious sites as tourism assets was more or less the same, but they were perceived as significantly more difficult to develop than other assets, including the traditional yards, daily life and customs, and Tibetan medicine assets. These three sets of assets were perceived at a similar level of difficulty for development. Figure 4.3 delivers the same information visually.

Table 4. 13: Pairwise Comparisons of perceived difficulty of developing tourism assets

(I) difficulty	(J) difficulty	Mean Differen ce (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^a	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^a	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
World heritage sites	Religious sites	-.12	.07	.087	-.26	.02
	Traditional yards	-.29*	.08	.000	-.44	-.14
	Daily life& customs	-.31*	.08	.000	-.47	-.16
	Tibetan Medicine	-.29*	.08	.000	-.45	-.14
Religious sites	World heritage sites	.12	.07	.087	-.02	.26
	Traditional yards	-.17*	.07	.016	-.30	-.03
	Daily life & customs	-.19*	.07	.006	-.33	-.05
	Tibetan Medicine	-.17*	.08	.024	-.32	-.02
Traditional yards	World heritage sites	.29*	.08	.000	.14	.44
	Religious sites	.17*	.07	.016	.03	.30
	Daily life& customs	-.03	.07	.724	-.16	.11
	Tibetan Medicine	-.01	.07	.947	-.15	.14
Daily life & customs	World heritage sites	.31*	.08	.000	.16	.47
	Religious sites	.19*	.07	.006	.05	.33
	Traditional yards	.03	.07	.724	-.11	.16
	Tibetan Medicine	.02	.08	.796	-.13	.17
Tibetan Medicine	World heritage sites	.29*	.08	.000	.14	.45
	Religious sites	.17*	.08	.024	.02	.32
	Traditional yards	.01	.07	.947	-.14	.15
	Daily life& customs	-.02	.08	.796	-.17	.13

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

a. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

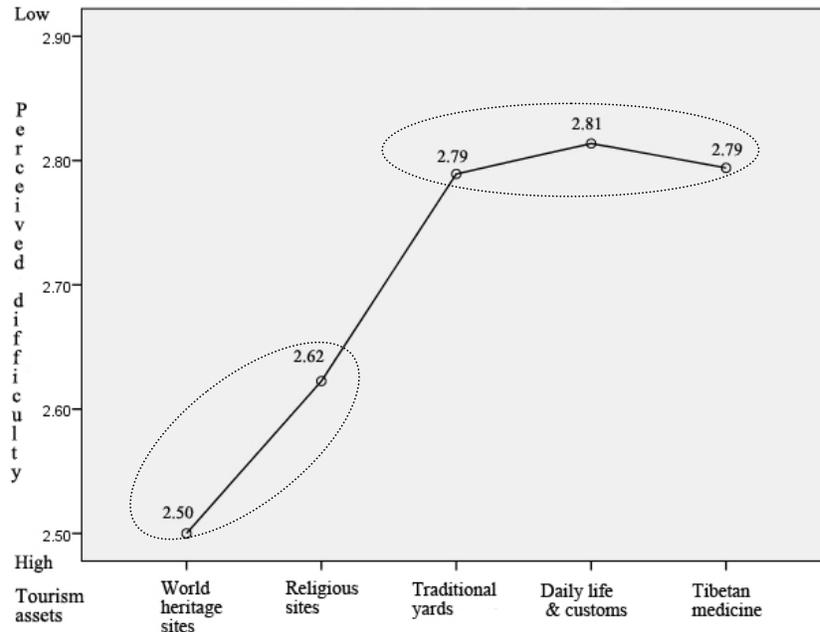


Figure 4. 3: Perceived difficulty in developing the tourism assets

(2) Discussion

The principle finding of this section is that the world heritages sites and religious sites were assessed as significantly more difficult to develop. Following the arguments noted in the focus groups information, this greater difficulty may partly be due to the religious and political background of the society. As indicated in the previous section, the world heritage sites are in essence religious sites. Crowds of followers, from near and far, come to worship daily at these sites (Tiley, 1988; Tsering, 1999; Tudbden & Li, 2011). Their development, as well as that of other religious sites, is very sensitive and complex in Tibet. A focus group member observed that, “the religious and political issues are penetrating all aspects of development and our life in Tibet, especially the urban area of Lhasa. It is, to some extent, invisible, but you can always feel and tell. Well, due to the special historical, religious and political issues, we have to be cautious in their protection and development (L-FG-1, 2010).” A similar perspective has been recorded by

Komppa (2010), and is also officially confirmed by a document issued by Tibet Autonomous Government (2011), which reports that stability and ethnic solidarity in Tibet is the leading concern of the central government and local government. Consequently, both the central and local government are not enthusiastic about further developing the religious sites for tourism purposes, nor are they supportive to the efforts of others to turn them into tourism attractions.

As a further issue, the departmental segmentation in the Chinese political system, which originated in the planned economy era in China (Dai, 2009), often makes the cooperation among different government departments difficult. The world heritage sites and religious sites in this study are normally under the administration of cultural relics and/or religious management departments, which implies that tourism organizations have no rights in supervising their development and have very little influence on their development pattern. This inability of tourism organisations to manage the world heritage sites and other religious sites has been observed by local researchers (Hu, 2006; Hu, *et al.*, 2010). As a result, it is difficult to put tourism development planning into practice, especially the development of religious related sites.

From some scattered information gained from previous focus groups, the difficulty attached to world heritage sites and religious sites might also related to the respondents' definition of sustainable tourism and their expectations of tourism outcomes. This kind of detailed lay or everyday understanding of sustainable tourism will be presented later in this chapter (see 4.4.5).

4.4.2.3 Development desirability of five tourism assets

(1) Results

Table 4.14 presents the descriptive analysis results of the desirability of development for the five categories of tourism assets. Among the five sets of tourism attraction assets, the world heritage sites gained the highest desirability, while the traditional yards were considered as the least desirable to develop.

Table 4. 14: Descriptive statistics for development desirability of the tourism assets by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
World heritage sites	1.49	.92	204
Religious sites	1.77	.95	204
Traditional yards	1.93	.99	204
Daily life & customs	1.65	1.21	204
Tibetan Medicine	1.81	.93	204

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very desirable, 5=not desirable at all

Mauchly's Test of Sphericity suggests that the variances between the five sets of scores were significantly different ($df = 9, p = .000$). This view was supported by *Tests of Within-Subjects Effect* ($F = 10.44, p = .001, \eta_p^2 = .049$). It further discloses that there was a medium effect causing the significant difference

Pairwise comparisons, which were conducted later, reveal that there are four significantly different levels of development desirability (see Table 4.15). In detail, the desirability of developing the world heritage sites as tourism attractions was significantly higher than the desirability of developing the rest of the tourism assets. The desirability of developing daily life as tourism attractions was not as high as that of the world heritage sites, but it was significantly higher than that of traditional yards, religious sites and Tibetan medicine. The traditional yards, meanwhile, were considered as the least desirable for development in the near future. The segmentation of development desirability is displayed in Figure 4.4.

Table 4. 15: Pairwise Comparisons of perceived desirability for development

(I) desirability	(J) desirability	Mean Differen ce (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig. ^a	95% Confidence Interval for Difference ^a	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
World heritage sites	Religious sites	-.28*	.06	.000	-.40	-.16
	Traditional yards	-.44*	.08	.000	-.59	-.28
	Daily life & customs	-.16*	.06	.014	-.28	-.03
	Tibetan Medicine	-.32*	.08	.000	-.48	-.17
Religious sites	World heritage sites	.28*	.06	.000	.16	.40
	Traditional yards	-.16*	.07	.035	-.30	-.01
	Daily life	.12	.07	.067	-.01	.25
	Tibetan Medicine	-.04	.08	.563	-.19	.11
Traditional yards	World heritage sites	.44*	.08	.000	.28	.59
	Religious sites	.16*	.07	.035	.01	.30
	Daily life	.28*	.07	.000	.13	.43
	Tibetan Medicine	.11	.09	.201	-.06	.29
Daily life & customs	World heritage sites	.16*	.06	.014	.03	.28
	Religious sites	-.12	.07	.067	-.25	.01
	Traditional yards	-.28*	.07	.000	-.43	-.13
	Tibetan Medicine	-.17*	.07	.014	-.30	-.03
Tibetan Medicine	World heritage sites	.32*	.08	.000	.17	.48
	Religious sites	.04	.08	.563	-.11	.19
	Traditional yards	-.11	.09	.201	-.29	.06
	Daily life	.17*	.07	.014	.03	.30

Based on estimated marginal means

*. The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

a. Adjustment for multiple comparisons: Least Significant Difference (equivalent to no adjustments).

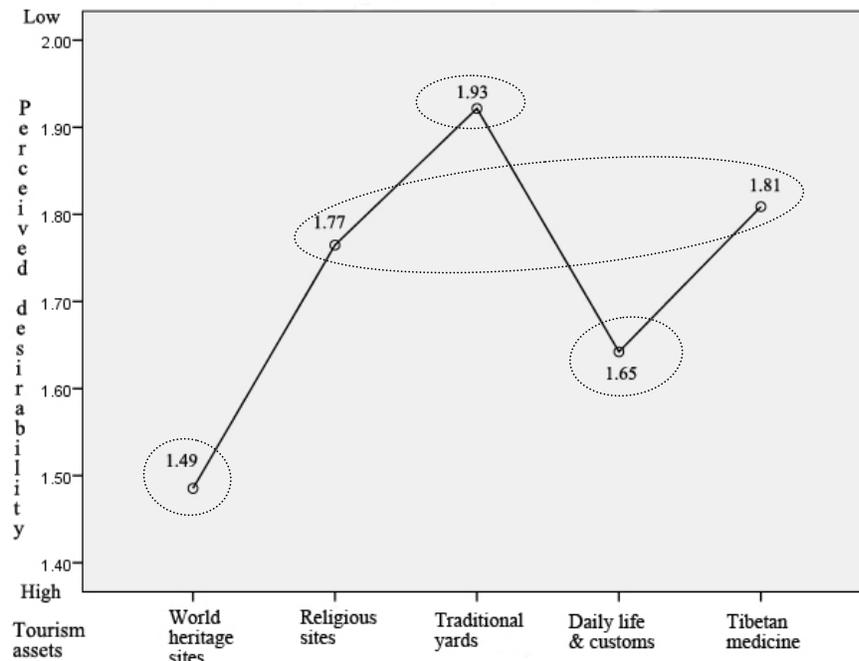


Figure 4. 4: Perceived desirability of developing the tourism assets

(2) Discussion

In this section, a significantly low level of reported desirability to develop Tibetan yards and Tibetan medicine was observed. The unwillingness to develop Tibetan yards was due to the high expense of relocation as well as emotional connections with these traditional yards (L-FG-1&3, 2010). As Figure 3.4 shows, the traditional yards are spectacular in size and most of them are occupied by dozens of, and sometimes, hundreds of households. Once turned into tourism attractions, no matter whether they are hotels, museums, or any other facilities, those residents living in the yards would have to move out to newly developed suburbs. The subsidy from the government is relatively low compared to the cost of purchasing a new apartment. Consequently, many of the residents may have to rent rooms or even be homeless. In addition, the low interest in development is related to the traditional thinking both in Buddhism and Confucianism which highly values an individual's place of origin and tends to keep individuals connected to their home base (Shang & Lai, 2010; Yang, 1980). Living in or coming back to the place where they are originally from is a pleasure treasured by these cultures (Lew & Wong, 2005; Pearce, 2012).

Low interest was also discovered in developing the religious sites and the Tibetan medicine. Lack of passion for developing the religious sites was relevant to their sensitive nature, which has been discussed in the perceived difficulty section. The low desirability for developing Tibetan medicine is rooted in the young hosts' concern about price increases, rather than tourists' acceptability of Tibetan medicine. "The extraordinary tourism development since the opening of Qinghai-Tibet railway in 2006, has been making the local residents experience affluent commodities never seen before, but has also increased the cost of living (L-FG-3, 2010)." This view is consistent with previous studies, which indicated that some of the negative tourism outcomes are inflation, increase of living cost, land values, and other residential issues (Allen, *et al.*, 1988; Lankford & Howard, 1993; Zhang & He, 2008).

Another issue of interest in this section relates to the development concerns surrounding the daily life and custom assets. They were regarded as the easiest asset to develop. However, they were only given a medium score for desirability for development. From the information accessed from focus groups, participants held very contrary views. For indigenous Tibetan youth, some hated being gazed at by tourists, while some enjoyed showing authentic parts of their culture to outsiders. For migrant Tibetans, some appreciated Tibetans' daily life and customs, while others thought negatively, using words such as dirty, primitive, and confusing, to describe them. In addition, the relatively large standard deviation value (1.21, see Table 4.15) statistically supported the heterogeneous voices within the youth community in viewing such development. It is anticipated that the divergent views resulted in an average score of medium desirability.

4.4.2.4 Preferred tourist groups for five tourism assets

Studies have shown that different types of tourists will have significantly different impacts on communities (Stoeckl, Greiner, & Mayocchi, 2006). Empirical studies of Chinese tourists indicated that tourists from different regions differ in their destination preferences and behaviour (COTRI & PATA, 2010). Thus, this thesis assumed that the young hosts might have preferences for different tourist groups for separate tourism assets. A question on the young hosts' preferences for tourist groups was asked at the end of each tourism asset scenarios. The relevant question to illustrate the approach is as follows:

For these world heritage sites, what kind of tourists would you like to attract in the next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others _____

(1) Results

Focus groups results indicated that the origins of tourists were commonly used by the young hosts as classification criteria. Thus, the questionnaire based survey used coastal Chinese, middle and western Chinese, *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans (different groups of people within the greater Tibet region), Eastern Asians, foreigners (Westerns), and others as the variables. For statistical and conceptual reasons, those who chose “others”, were omitted as missing data. As a result, 216 out 258 cases who specified their preferences for tourist groups were considered as valid. Descriptive analysis indicated the overall preferences (see 4.16).

Table 4. 16: Preferences for tourist groups for the tourism assets

Tourist groups \ Tourism assets	Coastal Chinese (N/%*)	Middle & west Chinese (N/%)	<i>Khampa and Amdo</i> (N/%)	Eastern Asians (N/%)	Foreigners (Westerns) (N/%)
World heritage sites	60/27.8%	48/22.2%	5/2.3%	12/5.6%	91/42.1%
Religious sites	58/26.9%	41/19.0%	41/19.0%	18/8.3%	58/26.9%
Traditional yards	50/23.1%	54/25.0%	23/10.6%	16/7.4%	73/33.8%
Daily life & customs	46/21.3%	60/27.8%	13/6.0%	22/10.2%	75/34.7%
Tibetan Medicine	45/20.9%	62/28.7%	34/15.7%	24/11.1%	51/23.6%

* Percentages refer to the row

From the frequency analysis above, it is hard to tell whether there were significantly different preferences among these five scenarios or not. However, some patterns in the information are:

- Preferences for tourist groups for each tourist asset were somewhat different. The preferences for tourist groups are complex. It seems that the preferences

depend on their understanding of different tourist groups, as well as what tourism assets the tourists are visiting.

- Generally speaking, foreigners, the tourists from western countries were slightly preferred across all sites, even though they only accounted for a small share in the tourism market (from 1.93% to 8.21% in 2005-2009). This preference was especially evident when the world heritage sites were considered. This may be explained by their stereotypes of tourists as identified during the focus group interviews.
- Overall, Coastal Chinese and middle and west Chinese were relatively preferred. These two groups did not vary substantially from each other in terms of preferred percentages (from 1.9% to 7.9% in the table). Judging from the percentages, it seemed that coastal Chinese were more welcomed at world heritage sites and religious sites, while middle and west Chinese were preferred more for visiting non-religious sites, especially buying Tibetan Medicine.
- Tourists from inside Tibet, *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans, were not always regarded as tourists (see focus groups discussion), because a high proportion of them visit the Old Town for pilgrimage reasons and do not spend as classic tourists. They, however, still gained some popularity with the young hosts, especially when it comes to religious sites and Tibetan medicine. They were considered as one of the groups with a moderate level of desirability.
- The number of tourists from oriental countries (East Asians) was small at the time of research (2010-2011), even though as a single country, Japan is the most important tourist generating country for Tibet and Korea is an important source of international tourists. Their potential as tourists was not rated highly by Tibetan “Post 80s”. Compared with tourists from other origins, they obtained the lowest preferences.

In addition to basic frequency analysis, the cross tabulation test between the preferences for tourist groups and regional origins of tourists was examined using the Chi-square test. It was found that the indigenous Tibetan hosts and the migrants Tibetan young hosts reported significantly different preferences for types of tourists visiting the traditional Tibetan yards ($df=5$, $\chi^2=16.49$, $p=.002$) and

Tibetan medicine ($df=5$, $\chi^2=18.73$, $p=.001$). In visiting the traditional Tibetan yards, the indigenous hosts preferred Tibetans, and tourists from middle and west China, while the migrant youth strongly preferred the Coastal Han Chinese and foreigners. Concerning the Tibetan medicine, the most desirable market recognised by the indigenous youth were the middle and west Chinese, followed by *Khampa and Amdo*, and foreigners. The migrant youth, however, shared their preferences equally between the coastal Han Chinese and the Eastern Asians.

(2) Discussion

This section of the study offers some initial ideas. Considerable studies have been done to explore tourism community attitudes towards tourism impacts and tourism development, and the number of these studies is still growing (Andriotis, 2005; Ap, 1992; Getz, 1994; Lu, *et al.*, 2006; Ryan & Gu, 2009c). Few studies, however, have focused specifically on the residents' perceptions of and preferences for tourists. From the limited studies which examined residents' representations of tourists, most of them examined a specific group of tourists, such as foreign backpackers in India (Maoz, 2006), Chinese tourists in Vietnam (Chan, 2006), and tourist photographers (Gillespie, 2006). Studies exploring residents' representations and preferences for diversified tourists have seldom been reported (Wu & Pearce, 2012b, Murphy, Moscardo, McGehee, & Konovalov 2012). This research opportunity has recently attracted some researchers. Moufakkir and Reisinger (2012) and other scholars are currently compiling a case study based book "*The Host Gaze*". Hopefully, it will close the research gap in this area.

This component of the research also identifies some cultural issues about interpersonal relationships. In the sampling stage, as many as 42 respondents (out of 258, including 31 indigenous Tibetan participants and 11 migrant respondents) chose "others" rather than one of the five specific tourist groups. According to the face to face confirmation following the questionnaire survey either by the author or by research assistants, "others" often meant that all tourists are welcomed. For many respondents, all tourists are "guests" and should be welcomed equally. This phenomenon is deeply rooted in both Confucian and Buddhist values. A participant in focus group 3 quoted a Confucian saying, "is it not delightful to have friends coming from distant quarters?", to express that having friends coming from distant places is a positive event and generally well received. According to

Confucius, loving others is a great way of cultivating ourselves, or a great way for us to learn to be human beings, especially to be a gentleman, in the full sense. In this sense, everyone visiting Lhasa should be welcomed. In Tibetan Buddhism, it is also believed that “everyone is a brother under the heaven (L-FG-1, 2010).” Indeed, being friendly to others is one of the Buddhist ethics in dealing with the outside society (Harvey, 2000). Following these perceptions, it is clearer as to why nearly one sixth of the respondents would not choose a specific group, but rather welcomed tourists of all origins.

Additionally, while Tibetan young hosts could not tell the differences among tourists from western countries, they classified domestic tourists into three different origins. This classification, to some extent, reflects the growing number of non-western tourists with whom they were becoming more familiar. Indeed, with improvements in infrastructure, ever increasing disposable income, liberalized economies, the inter-connectivity of globalization and the lowering of borders, millions of Asians travel as tourists, both domestically and internationally (Chan, 2006; COTRI & PATA, 2010; Wearing, *et al.*, 2010; Winter, *et al.*, 2009). The young hosts’ overall preferences for Western tourists should not overshadow the fact that domestic tourists dominate and will continue to comprise the majority of the market in the foreseeable future. There are some implications here for tourist behaviour education, which has been recognised by the China Central Civilization Office (CCCO) and China Nation Tourism Administration (CNTA). When affluent Chinese began to travel outbound, it has been suggested that certain customs and manners need to be modified (CCCO & CNTA, 2006). In this context, Western tourists were somewhere preferred, partly because of “their better behaviour (L-FG-2, 2010).” The preferences for western tourists may also be mediated by the cultural difference. In a Dutch context, Moufakkir (2011) observed that the hosts become relatively more tolerant to those from a distant culture. From the results, it seems that the preferences and tolerance for different kinds of tourists are also influenced by the attractions which tourists visit or might visit.

4.4.2.5 Summary of the findings

The overall representations of the five categories of tourism assets and their development can be summarized as below:

The world heritage sites, which have been central to tourism development in Lhasa from the early 1980s, were regarded as the most valuable, the most desirable and the most difficult to develop. The value of these world heritage sites is recognised world-wide. These world heritage sites assets are landmarks of Lhasa, and of Tibet. Local youth were enthusiastic to use them to attract more tourists, which resulted in the highest desirability. But meanwhile, they suggested that these assets were the most difficult to develop.

The religious sites assets are scattered in all corners of the Old Town of Lhasa. In the minds of Tibetan “Post 80s” youth, they were the least valuable tourism assets. They were perceived as very difficult to develop, and at the same level of difficulty as the world heritage sites. Hence, their overall desirability in development was at a medium level. It was suggested that reasons why it was difficult to develop these sites was related to the sensitive and special position of religion in Lhasa.

The Traditional Tibetan yards not only reflect the indigenous knowledge of Tibetans and their customs, but are also the aesthetically attractive architecture of these sites. Their value in development as tourism attractions were well recognized (see Table 4.5 and Figure 4.1). Compared with the world heritage sites and religious sites, they were regarded as significantly easier to develop. The “Post 80s” youth, however, were least interested in developing them for tourism purposes. The low desirability was caused by relocation and emotional issues.

The daily life and customs assets were considered to be a valuable tourist asset, but significant less so than that of the world heritage sites. However, they were believed to be the easiest to develop. Diverse and controversial views were observed towards their development, which resulted in an overall medium level of desirability for future change.

Overall, Tibetan medicine assets were regarded as valuable assets, relatively easy to develop but with a low desirability for development. The scores for these assets followed a similar pattern with that of the traditional Tibetan yards. The respondents expressed their concern about the potential price increase due to tourist demand, rather than tourists’ acceptability of Tibetan medicine.

In terms of preferences for tourist groups, the preference patterns for the five tourism assets were somewhat different, depending on the nature of tourism assets. Foreigners (tourists from western countries) were the most preferred, most of the time. Coastal Chinese, Middle and West Chinese, *Khampa and Amdo* Tibetans were preferred at different locations. Facilitated by the focus groups information, it is suggested that the hosts may not have a lot of contact with tourism, but have their own representations of tourism and tourists, and hence have something to say and to contribute to future tourism development.

From the points above, it can be concluded that the mere identification and development of available tourism resources in a community is insufficient to ensure successful tourism development. It is equally important to gain the meanings that the hosts, especially the young generation, attach to each tourism assets, as well as their value, difficulty and desirability judgements for tourism purposes. As evident in this study, Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in the Old Town of Lhasa revealed significantly different judgements towards the tourism assets identified by their peers in an earlier research stage. For example, the highest development desirability was attached to the world heritage sites, while medium desirability was given to the religious sites, and daily life and customs assets. Traditional Tibetan yards and Tibetan medicine received the least desirability for development. This significantly difference in development desirability responds to the idea that the development of tourism in a community is not simply a matter of matching product supply with tourist demand (Amuquandoh, 2010; Andereck & Vogt, 2000) and justifies the design of this study. Further, it can be said that studies such as those developed in this section have some practical power. The information is able to give tourism planners and researchers more detailed insights into tourism products that the hosts will support or oppose.

4.4.3 Other assets, contextual factors and development

In using the adjusted SL framework for the tourism context, the researcher is aware that the translation of tourism assets into tourism livelihoods is mediated by the access to other assets (including economic, human and social assets) and a number of contextual social, economic and political issues (Ellis, 2000; McGowan, 2010). Indeed, paying attention to the broader issues and linking the micro with the macro is one of the principles of SL framework (DFID, 1999; Scoones, 2009).

This section is connected with aim 2) of this study. It focuses on economic, human, social assets, and the contextual issues, which play a mediating role in the assessment of desirable tourism futures as seen by the “Post 80s” respondents.

4.4.3.1 Economic assets and tourism development

This study puts physical assets and financial assets together under the name of economic assets. Physical assets comprise assets that are created by economic production processes. Buildings, roads, tools, machines and so on are some examples of physical assets. Financial assets refer to the stock of money to which the household has access. This is chiefly about savings, but also includes access to credit in the form of loans.

(1) Results

In the Old Town of Lhasa, Tibetan “Post 80s” youth indicated that the infrastructure at the macro level was the most critical element and they looked forward to improvement in the future. More specifically, entertainment facilities, convenient transportation, diversified accommodation and shopping facilities were perceived as the first layer elements for future development. The respondents’ identification of these facilities reflected the current status of the Old Town of Lhasa, with limited nightlife venues, accommodation, and shopping centers.

At the micro level of economic assets, property and financial issues received much attention. More than half of the respondents chose properties in or close to the tourist areas as the most influential factors in choosing tourism as a livelihood. Additionally, a quarter of the respondents thought that disposable savings were the most important of the economic assets. Another 14.7% of the respondents suggested that access to credit of all forms (e.g. family, friends, and banks) was the most important economic factor.

(2) Discussion

The respondents in this study identified infrastructure as the most critical of the economic assets. Indeed, infrastructure provision is a long-recognized policy priority in development studies (Ellis, 2000; Labonne & Chase, 2011; Morais, *et al.*, 2006). It addresses one aspect of the physical assets on which livelihoods are constructed. The “Post 80s” youth’s emphasis on infrastructure supported a

previous declaration that the infrastructure base of a destination is often a determinant of the attractiveness of a tourism destination (Chew, 1987; Jackson, 2006; Khadaroo & Seetanah, 2008; Prideaux, 2000). Indeed, “without the access to proper infrastructure, tourism will only be a beautiful dream (L-FG-4, 2010).”

At the micro level of economic assets, the emphasis on their owning properties in or close to the tourism attraction sites, is in line with Barhamet *al.*'s (n.d.) findings of forest people. A key factor conditioning how people use their local resources and thus generate incomes is the level and type of wealth they hold (e.g. land and non-land assets).

A quarter of the respondents thought disposable savings was the most essential economic asset at the micro level. The dependency on their own resources is in accord with some studies on micro-credit and rural development. These studies revealed that those rural, minority, and other disadvantaged group are more conservative in searching for exogenous financial assistance (Bennell, 2007; Chigunta, 2002; Weeratunge, 2010).

It is notable that 14.7% of the respondents were aware of exogenous resources during the development process. They put access to other financial sources among the top economic assets. Realizing the potential to use newer sources of exogenous financial resources is a positive issue, because it may substantially and positively affect their access to tourism livelihoods and tourism benefits (McGowan, 2010). This awareness of the exogenous assistance has some policy implications. It indicates the importance and vital position of credit markets in the future, especially the provision of micro-finance. Through the availability of the credit market, the “Post 80s” youth may broaden their livelihoods opportunities and engage in income-generating activities (Chigunta, 2002; Ellis, 2000; McGehee & Kline, 2008). The credit market, however, is not always reachable, especially to youth in the peripheral areas. Concerns about the high costs of setting up banking operations in the peripheral areas, the difficulty and cost of securing adequate information on potential borrowers, the risk of default on loans, and the absence of collateral to put up against loans, can always result in the failure of the credit market (Ellis, 2000). In the future, governments and NGOs may continue to work to overcome these market failures, avoiding the tendency of being intermittent, unreachable and uneven in their regional availability.

4.4.3.2 Human assets and tourism development

Many political analysts, including Karl Marx, have argued that the chief asset possessed by the disadvantaged people is their own labour (Ellis, 2000; Marx, 1887). Human assets refer to the labour available to the households, including education, skill and health (Carney, 1998). This section of the study explores the status of and also considers future demand for human assets. Ways to meet these demands are assessed as well.

(1) Results

Overall, the “Post 80s” young respondents thought that the major challenge they faced about human assets in Lhasa was its problematic structure. They suggested that there existed a large number of personnel with distinctive advantages. However, they reasoned that they were short of professionals who were good at packaging and promoting their distinctive tourism assets, as well as people skilled in business operations. More than half of the young respondents (141 out of 258) considered that a mastery of local knowledge combined with marketing and management knowledge was critical for future development. The young hosts saw attracting or cultivating management professionals as one of the priorities for future development. In addition, for the future development of tourism, they recognized the indispensable roles of people who mastered Tibetan traditional skills, as well as those who mastered basic service skills and knew how to entertain tourists.

It is universally acknowledged that human assets are increased by investment in education and training, as well as by the skills acquired through pursuing one or more occupations (Ellis, 2000). In this study, the respondents identified education and training as the most effective approach. The majority of the youth agreed that there was an essential need to provide qualified personnel in tourism. They considered formal education and training as the best approach. “Enrolling in higher education and get systematic education”, “finishing basic education and enrolling in technical schools”, and “continuous post-school education or training” were the most popular preferences, all of which accounted for about 30% of choices. Others suggested that practice in the industry was a better route to improve human assets and skills.

(2) Discussion

The awareness of the problematic structure of human assets is consistent with local researchers' findings (Shi, *et al.*, 2006). Hence, as the young hosts themselves suggested, keeping their advantages and overcoming their disadvantages, if necessary through obtaining outside professional assistance from the outside are sustainable alternatives.

Access to human assets is related to the ready availability of enhancement opportunities, including different kinds of education and training. The role of practice as job enhancement is also included in this analysis. Compared with learning through practice, formal education and training were overwhelmingly popular. Less than 10% of the respondents chose learning through practice. Given the nature of tourism jobs, where experience is often required rather than being built on education (Fidgeon, 2010; Jiang & Tribe, 2009), this number was unexpectedly low. The enthusiasm for formal education might be rooted in the traditional Chinese Confucian thinking. Confucianism identified intellectuals as the second highest class behind the civil servants, hence, learning through education has been traditionally appreciated (Yang, 1980). Further, this view has been strengthened by the nine year compulsory education across China. The lack of formal education, and associated curtailing of the options open to individuals, have been repeatedly stressed (Johnson, 2000).

4.4.3.3 Social and political assets and tourism development

Social assets can be broadly understood as social resources “upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordination and collective action” (Scoones, 1998, p.8). They are increasingly well established as important factors in building and maintaining collective action (Ahlerup, *et al.*, 2009; Paldam & Svendsen, 2000; Westermann, Ashby, & Pretty, 2005), either in bonding or bridging form (Emery & Flora, 2006; Mathie & Cunningham, 2005).

(1) Results

In this study, Tibetan “Post 80s” reported some important social assets, which “may be able to widen their access to resources and other actors (Focus Group 2, 2010).” These links facilitate tourism development and expand livelihoods choices.

However, these social assets were not always available. The most important but difficult to access social assets identified by the young hosts (being selected more than 100/258 times) were:

- Networking and connecting with government, which provides political and social support.
- Networking and connecting with market forces, such as travel agencies, tour guides, and so on.
- Having some influence on the decision-making process of tourism development.

Meanwhile, the Tibetan youth thought that some national characteristics were attractive to tourists and would be beneficial for tourism development. The most valued qualities, again chosen more than 100/258 times, include:

- Tibetans are peaceful and respect the harmonious relationships between human and nature and society.
- Tibetans are proud of their culture and are willing to share.
- Tibetans are hospitable, straight-forward, forgiving, and easy going with tourists.
- Tibetans are talented, good at dancing and music performance, thus, this culture is attractive.

(2) Discussion

The importance of accessing social assets during the development process has been widely acknowledged (Ahlerup, *et al.*, 2009; Kumar, 2006; Sampson, 1988; Scoones, 1998). In the tourism area, exploratory studies have been carried out to explore the relationships between social assets and other forms of assets (McGehee, *et al.*, 2010). In the present study, the young respondents' principal concerns about social assets reflected some contextual issues in current Tibet, and even extended to China at the national level.

The young respondents' concerns about networking with the government reflected both the difficulty in accessing those in power and the associated importance of linking with local authorities. It also responds to the widely acknowledged view that the access to some social assets, such as the networks and relationships with

government agencies, apparently facilitates access to other assets and enhances citizens' livelihoods (Bebbington, 1999; Kumar, 2006). It has been observed that in some Asian countries, people must typically undergo a sequence of complex registration and licensing requirements, and sometimes even require side-payments to speed up official processes in order to achieve legal status (Ellis, 2000). These procedures, however, may be dramatically changed if you have some connections with local officials, such as having some family members working in the related department. In this sense, access to the power network enhances people's ability to access and defend resources, and transforms them into income. In the Chinese context, the personal relationship networking ('*Guanxi*' in Mandarin), which may determine the success or failure of an enterprise, has been observed (Li, *et al.*, 2007; Zhang, Ding, & Bao, 2009). Some participants in the previous focus groups study commented, "without strong official support, it is unlikely that the business would survive in the intense market competition (L-FG-2, 2010)." Indeed, compared with the marketing economy in inland China, the free economy in Tibet lags behind, and local government penetrates every corner of the economic activities. As such, tourism enterprises, whatever their ownership, all tend to co-operate with the government to gain political/economical capital.

The second leading concern was about the access to the networking and connections with the market system. In the Tibetan context, due to the remote location, transportation inconvenience, cultural differences, and political concerns, a high proportion of tourists take the all-inclusive tour package. This is especially true for the international market because they are required to travel with local tour guides (Chinatibetnews, 2008). Under this scenario, travel agencies and tour guides hold the power to arrange, or at least to influence tourists' decision making in terms of accommodation, dining, shopping and entertaining venues. Hence, access to the circle of some market forces, such as travel agencies, tourism guides, online tourism communities, and other market agencies, is highly appreciated. This kind of access can ensure business and income. It is particularly helpful in the slow seasons. This concern reflects lay approaches about marketing cooperation, which is a common strategy during tourism development (Medina-Muñoz & García-Falcón, 2000; Palmer & Bejou, 1995; Pesamaa, *et al.*, 2010; Preble, Reichel, & Hoffman, 2000), or more specifically, the essential roles of the ties

between tour guides and local communities (Jensen, 2010).

Further, access to community participation was also valued. Tibetan youth in this study suggested that community participation was more than sharing benefits. They asked for participation in the decision making process and involvement in their community development. To some extent, it is an awakening of civil rights. The desire to have access to the decision-making process is not consistent with some studies in developing countries (mainly Asia), which argued that local residents there are not used to or concerned with participating in the decision making (Bao & Sun, 2006; Tosun, 2000). This study is inconsistent with Li's (2006) finding, which doubted the necessity of community participation in China and suggested that having a say in the management arena is only one of the many ways to ensure the local people benefit from tourism. This young residents study, however, revealed that these young residents were aware of their rights and also fairly interested in decision making about public affairs.

4.4.3.4 Vulnerable contexts and tourism development

Vulnerability contexts describe the environment in which people live. It is characterized as insecurity in the well-being of individuals, households, and communities in the face of changes in their external environment (Serrat, 2008). Vulnerability has two facets, an external side of shocks, seasonality, and critical trends; and an internal side of powerlessness caused by the lack of ability or a means to cope with challenges. Tourism is often recognized as a vulnerable industry, as it is deeply affected by wider contextual issues and other unexpected issues (Butler, 2001; Cuccia & Rizzo, 2011; Soemodinoto, Wong, & Saleh, 2001; Sönmez, 1998; Thapa, 2003). Trends, seasonality, and shocks are the three main vulnerability issues which have been identified as affecting the tourism industry. This section of the study assessed these three major vulnerability issues.

(1) Results

Viewing the trends in tourism development, the young hosts in the Old Town of Lhasa were very positive. They considered that, from the demand side, modern tourists are interested in searching for personal meanings, authentic and exotic experiences, and challenging themselves by undertaking adventurous options. They suggested that Tibet, with the Old Town as its centre, is a great destination to

meet these demands. From the supply side, they emphasized the dramatic improvements in accessibility, infrastructure, and facilities since early 2000. They reported that they had also witnessed the improvement of tourism marketing, management and service skills at the micro level. Further, they anticipated that the policy in Tibet would be less restrictive on tourists in the next 5-10 years, making it a more accessible destination, especially to international travelers.

To a great extent, tourism is a climate-dependent industry (Baum & Lundtorp, 2001; Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010). This is especially true in peripheral and cold-climate environments (Baum & Lundtorp, 2001). Himalayas region, including Tibet, offers a very good example (Nyaupane & Chhetri, 2009). Seasonality was identified as one of the leading factors shaping vulnerability in the Old Town of Lhasa. Nearly two thirds (64%) of the young respondents regarded it as negative or very negative, while another third considered it as either neutral or positive. The negative concepts linking with seasonality included job insecurity (short-term employment rather than sustainable long-terms jobs), low returns on investment causing subsequent high risk in operations, and problems relating to crowding, parking and the overuse of facilities during the peak season.

Cross-tabulations analysed using the Chi-Square test found that the regional origins and religion were significant influencing factors on seasonality perceptions (with $df=5$, $\chi^2=14.50$, $p=.006$, and $df=10$, $\chi^2=17.23$, $p=.028$ respectively). Indigenous Tibetans and those with religious beliefs perceived seasonality more positively than migrant Tibetan youth who were less bound by religious issues. They positively connected seasonality with the benefits of a long off-season. Typical statements include, "...Work and leisure are complementary parts in our life. They cannot be separated without destroying the joy of work and the bliss of leisure. So why not welcome the low seasons (L-FG-1, 2010)?" "We enjoy the peaceful time without tourists wandering around and gazing at us (L-FG-4, 2010)." "It's winter time. It is a traditionally relaxing time to enjoy the harvest and the sunshine (L-FG-3, 2010)."

Another concern related to vulnerability was that of shocks. Shocks can be the result of human health, natural events, economic uncertainty, conflicts, and so on. Here in this study, the leading shock was the political status of the region (political

conflicts). Nearly six in ten of the “Post 80s” respondents reported unexpected incidents (e.g. violent civil unrest) as the most negative form of the shocks. In the Lhasa context, the unexpected incidents were mostly politically related, and very sensitive to discuss in public. Other major shocks noted by Tibetan “Post 80s” youth included natural disaster (20.5%), and financial crisis (18.2%). Earthquakes, landslides, blizzards, and abnormal climate are the most powerful potential natural disasters in Tibet. The unexpected financial crisis beginning at the end of 2008 had negatively influenced tourism in Tibet. For most of the tourists, travelling to Tibet is a long and tough tour. It is time demanding and expensive. In a turbulent situation of economic insecurity, some potential tourists tend to choose other destinations. Epidemics, like SARS in 2003 and HIVI in 2009, had not been a concern in the high-altitude sunshine of Tibet.

In addition to the three issues often discussed in the livelihoods analysis, image emerged as another concern in the Lhasa tourism context. In both western societies and inland China, the mystic and exotic image of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism has long been reproduced and circulated in daily life, as well as in the media and in academic discourse (Lhasa Tourism Administration & BES Consulting & Design, 2010). Some negative images are overwhelming, including concerns about the altitude in Tibet, stereotypes of the Tibetan ethnic minority as savage, primitive, unfriendly, and even dirty. These negative images were seen by the majority of young respondents (83.3%) as harmful to tourism.

(2) Discussion

Concerns about the vulnerability issues during tourism development are persistent in tourism planning and development work (Butler, 2001; Cuccia & Rizzo, 2011; Soemodinoto, *et al.*, 2001; Sönmez, 1998; Thapa, 2003). This study responded to previous concerns by offering detailed information and new perspectives.

In terms of trends, Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in the Old Town of Lhasa demonstrated great optimism. They assessed the tourism development trends from both the demand and supply sides, and expected more development in the next 5-10 years. This is in line with their general attitudes towards tourism development in the next 5-10 years (see 4.4.1). The positive attitudes may have something to do with the specific stage of their life cycle (Arnett, 2000b; Badger, *et al.*, 2006; Pew

Research Centre, 2005).

Here in the Old Town of Lhasa, the strong seasonality was noticed by the young hosts as one of the vulnerable issues. Polemical representations (Moscovici, 1988) were observed. The young hosts with different regional origins and religious status showed remarkably different views towards the nature of seasonality. It will be interesting to see whether these representations are connected with their views of tourism as a future livelihoods choice. This will be explored in the next section on livelihoods choice.

4.4.3.5 Institutional arrangements and tourism development

When outlining the SL framework, Scoones (1998) emphasized the importance of understanding the institutional arrangements. The understanding of institutional arrangements, especially the policies, institution and process (PIP) issues allows the identification of restrictions and opportunities (or the 'gateway) to livelihoods choices. Recent studies also reminded researchers to incorporate PIP issues (McMinn, 2006). Consideration of PIP issues sheds light on the social processes which underlie livelihood sustainability (Scoones, 1998). This section assesses the interactions between the major PIP issues and tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa.

(1) Results

The social and political assets explored previously suggested some aspects of PIP issues in the Old Town of Lhasa. This section, rather than repeating the previous work, examines the perceptions of the roles of local government and future pathways.

Overall, the young respondents were content with the government's performance and policies towards tourism development. Forty percent of them suggested that the government fully supported tourism development. A little more than half of the respondents indicated that the government could improve their service in the future. Other respondents observed that the government did not consider tourism as an important industry at all, when compared to other industries.

In terms of future roles, slightly more than half of the respondents reported that it was the government that can take more responsibility to stimulate tourism development. This view responded to their perceptions of the government's

current performance. In addition, they suggested that media could help promote Lhasa in a more effective and proper way. Nearly one third of the young respondents placed the media as the most important player in promoting tourism in the future. Meanwhile, another 17.1% of the respondents preferred to empower the third parties, such as NGOs and industry associations.

(2) Discussion

This study observed the dependency on government's roles in future tourism development. This may be rooted in the macro tourism governance in China (Sofield & Li, 2011). This dependence has also been reported in other developing countries, where tourism is beginning to play essential roles, but the infrastructure and entrepreneurship lag behind (Manyara, Jones, & Botterill, 2006). In detail, the young generation in the Old Town of Lhasa hoped the government could build a facilitating or supportive environment to self-employment and start-up business. At the time of field trip (2010-2011), local enterprises often arose 'outside' the regulations. They were a part of the poorly recognized and inadequately supported informal sector. "To secure the qualification to operate or to speed up the licensing process, we, sometimes, have to pay off local officials (L-FG-3, 2010)." The lack of supportive policy environment has also been observed in other parts of the Himalayan region (Kruk, 2009) and other areas of the developing world (Manyara, *et al.*, 2006). It is in this sense that reform, in terms of efficiency, effectiveness, transparency and fairness of government operations, is necessary for further development.

4.4.3.6 Summary of the findings

This section addresses the access issues in the threefold SL framework (e.g. assets and access, activities, and outcomes). The importance of access has been widely acknowledged (Bebbington, 1999; Carney, 1998; Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Mbaiwa, *et al.*, 2008; Shivakoti & Schmidt-Vogt, 2009; Vearey, 2008). It is the access that makes assets meaningful (Mathie & Cunningham, 2005). Further, commentators have suggested that the starting points of the framework are the assets accessed by the individual, households and community (Ellis, 2000; Norton & Foster, 2001). The researcher agrees that the access to assets (economic, human and social) is critical. Meanwhile, it is important to stress that the contextual issues act as

mediating factors in pursuing one's livelihoods. Together, they greatly affect people's decisions and ability to be involved in tourism.

The young hosts interpreted economic assets as the physical and financial resources in the community and in their households. Infrastructure provision, not limited to the basic ones, was highly appreciated. At the micro level, they regarded their family's spare properties in or close to the tourism attraction sites as the leading factors in influencing their tourism decision. Some of the youth have also realized the possibility of gaining assistance from exogenous financial resources.

Human assets greatly mediate people's ability to be involved in some specific livelihoods, including tourism. "Post 80s" respondents in this study were aware of the importance of human assets. They considered formal education and training, rather than learning through practice, as the major approach to enhance their human assets for tourism development. Given the emphasis on work in modern society, they identified business partnership and teamwork as a necessary element.

Social and political assets are among the most invisible assets mediating people's livelihoods choice, but they penetrate all aspects of the society and all economic activities. In this study, relationships with local government agencies, networking with related market forces, and involvement in community development were considered as the most necessary links. Meanwhile, the social characteristics of Tibetan region were appreciated, because they were positively connected with the destination's attractiveness.

Most of the vulnerability issues are not controllable, but they are influential in both shaping the livelihoods and affecting people's decision on livelihoods choices. In the Old Town of Lhasa, the strong seasonality, political instability, world economic crises, and negative images towards the destination were identified as the major vulnerability issues. Contrasting views towards seasonality were identified between indigenous youth and migrant youth, and also between youth with religious beliefs and youth not linked to these views. Concerns about image issues were also prevalent.

Policy, institution and process (PIP) issues overlap somewhat with the social and political assets. These forces are more focused on the limitations of the current political arrangements. The young hosts in this study suggested that they needed a

more enabling environment for tourism development. They indicated that the government and media can contribute more in this area.

Additionally, this study empirically supports the power of cultures, notably Confucian and Buddhist thinking, in people's interpretations of their assets, and the meanings they assign to daily life and social issues (Amuquandoh, 2010; Tao & Wall, 2009) .

4.4.4 Tourism as a livelihood strategy

Bebbington (1999) declared that people's assets are not merely means through which they make a living. They are, however, also reflections and components of the meaning the person tries to create through their livelihoods strategies. To apply Bebbington's ideas in the tourism context, individuals' decisions to select tourism as a livelihood strategy or not, and the degree to which tourism is incorporated into ones' livelihoods portfolio, can all be linked to young people's overall views towards tourism. This section, explores how Tibetan "Post 80s" youth perceive tourism as a future strategy within the broader livelihoods portfolio, and will extend the understanding of the SL framework. To better understand people's aspirations about the future livelihoods, the current livelihoods status in the Old Town of Lhasa will be explored first.

4.4.4.1 Current livelihoods choices in the Old Town of Lhasa

The income generation sources are believed to be good reflections of livelihoods choices at both the household and regional level (Barham, *et al.*, n.d.). The current livelihoods portfolio in the Old Town of Lhasa was accessed by asking the respondents their perceptions of their main income sources (see Table 4.17).

Table 4. 17: Current livelihoods choices in the Old Town of Lhasa

	Primary income generation items	Frequency (N=258)	Percent
1	Wholesale and retail trading	87	33.7
2	Tourism	73	28.3
3	Handicrafts making	64	24.8
4	Property renting	19	7.4
5	Public service	10	3.9
6	Others (e.g. casual work)	5	1.9

The Tibetan “Post 80s” youth identified wholesale and retail trading, tourism, and the making of handicrafts as the top three income generations in the Old Town of Lhasa. Together, the three income sources accounted for 94.2% of the choices. These three sectors had a very different customer orientation. The target market for wholesale and retail trading and the handicrafts industry were the local residents, while tourists were welcomed in all sectors.

Previous studies have observed that people make a living by a combination of livelihoods (Ellis, 2000; Tao & Wall, 2009). The current livelihoods portfolio suggests that tourism was just one of the livelihoods in the Old Town of Lhasa and it may not replace or be a substitute for other means of livelihoods. Though tourism was one of the foundation industries recognized by local government (Lhasa Municipal People's Government, 2009), the evidence provided in this study suggested that it only played a substantial role, rather than a primary role in income generation.

4.4.4.2 Representations of tourism as a future livelihoods choice

Social representations theory (Howarth, *et al.*, 2004; Mayers, 2005; Moscovici, 1976, 1988) and some tourism scholars employing similar perceptions (Boyd & Singh, 2003; Pearce, 2009a) have emphasized that destination communities may not necessarily be homogeneous. Using cluster analysis, this section examines the young hosts’ varied perceptions and aspirations for incorporating tourism into their livelihoods portfolio.

(1) Four sub-representations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice

The questions used for clustering in this study were respondents' views of tourism's role in their future livelihoods portfolio, preferred roles of tourism, willingness to work in the tourism industry, and willingness to set up one's own tourism related business in the next 5-10 years. Those who chose 'not sure' to any of these questions were omitted as missing values. As a result, 221 out of 258 samples were regarded as valid cases in this section.

A hierarchical clustering technique was employed because it allows researchers to defer decisions regarding the number of groups with which they wish to work (Johnson & Wichern, 2007). It is designed specifically for small to medium size data sets ($n < 300$) (Hair, *et al.*, 1998). Given the sample size, this study took a stepwise method from six to two clusters (see Table 4.18).

Table 4. 18: Percentages of sample within each livelihoods cluster

Clusters	6 (N;%)	5 (N;%)	4 (N;%)	3 (N;%)	2 (N;%)
I	81/36.7%	81/36.7%	81/36.7%	81/36.7%	190/86.0%
II	35/15.8%	35/15.8%	53/24.0%	109/49.3%	31/14.0%
III	31/14.0%	31/14.0%	31/14.0%	31/14.0%	–
IV	34/15.4%	56/25.3%	56/25.3%	–	–
V	18/8.1%	18/8.1%	–	–	–
VI	22/10.0%	–	–	–	–

Table 4.18 shows the distribution of respondents in each cluster, starting from a six cluster analysis to a two cluster analysis. If five or six groups are selected, minority groups accounting for less than 10% of the sample are obtained. Considering the complexity of the information and the high number of variables involved, a cluster of four groups was selected for further examination. An analysis was made of the different clusters by inspecting the answers given within each cluster (see Table 4.19). By carefully examining the characteristics of four livelihoods groups, this study labelled them as “*Moderate supporters*”, “*Community-oriented supporters*”, “*Willingly involved controllers*” and

“*Extreme enthusiasts*” respectively. Further information about these livelihoods groups is offered below.

Table 4. 19: Main characteristics of the tourism livelihoods groups

Cluster	Tourism’s role in the livelihoods portfolio	Preferred roles of tourism in the community	Work in tourism	Tourism entrepreneurship
I	Minor roles	More tourism	Willing	Willing
II	Major or supplementary	More tourism	Not willing	Willing
III	Mixed attitudes	Less tourism	Willing	Mixed attitudes
IV	Major roles	Substantially more tourism	Highly willing	Willing

Sub-group I: Moderate supporters (Tourism is a moderate livelihood choice)

This sub-group contained 81 respondents and formed the largest sub-group. Respondents in this sub-group confirmed that tourism was a potential livelihoods choice. It might be substantial, but also acted as only one of their possible diversified livelihood options. They were not enthusiastic about tourism development or working in tourism, nor were they negative towards this kind of social and economic development. If work opportunities arise, this group of respondents would consider such employment seriously and balance the benefits and costs.

Sub-group II: Community-oriented supporters (Tourism is a livelihoods choice for others)

The second sub-group, consisting of 24% of the respondents, was labelled as *ambivalent supporters*. A sharp contrast was noticed when comparing their attitudes towards tourism development at a community level and their willingness to work in the tourism industry. In general, they thought that tourism would play a more important role in the next 5-10 years, and they welcomed further tourism development. They were proud of the area’s heritage and positive about the opportunities for conservation that tourism development would bring. They were not enthusiastic, however, about working in the tourism industry, either for tourism

jobs in specific areas or as tourism entrepreneurs. This group of respondents believed tourism enhanced the community and other people's well-being. As individuals, they had more suitable livelihoods choices, and tourism was not their priority.

Sub-group III: Willingly involved controllers (Tourism is good but should be controlled)

This sub-group was made up of 31 Tibetan youth. Their response patterns were quite distinctive. They were the only group who strongly advocated that the future roles of tourism in the community should be decreased or at most kept at the present level. However, they should not be considered as a group of "haters", a label used for some parallel groups in previous studies (Davis, Allen, & Cosenza, 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). These respondents were eager to work in tourism industry in the future, and they were also enthusiastic about tourism entrepreneurship. However, this group preferred alternative, quality tourism. They advocated restricting the number of tourists and supported the adoption of low-volume tourism. For them, the current mass tourism was problematic. Hence, they preferred the kind of tourism that embraced quality interaction with tourists, more spending, minimal leakage and less negative impact.

Sub-group IV: Extreme enthusiasts (Tourism is a fantastic and important livelihoods choice)

The final cluster, sub-group IV, contained 56 respondents and could be described as *Extreme enthusiasts* for tourism in Lhasa. They showed great support for tourism development in the next 5-10 years. They also showed their preferences for tourism as a livelihoods choice. In their opinion, working in tourism offered a good career, rather than just jobs to making a living.

(2) Determining variables of the sub-groups

Using the group classification as a key dependent variable, discriminant analysis was adopted again to explore which factor better predicted the group classification. Table 4.20 presents the results for the discriminant function. With an eigenvalue of 5.27, function 1 accounted for 82.6% of the explained variance and reached a satisfactory separation ($\chi^2=573.01$, $p<0.01$).

Table 4. 20: Tests of significance of the discriminant functions level of tourism as a livelihoods choice

Function	Eigenvalue	Variance (%)	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	Sig.
1	5.27 ^a	82.6	.92	.070	573.01	.000
2	.95 ^a	14.8	.70	.442	176.45	.000
3	.16 ^a	2.6	.38	.860	32.69	.000

a. First 3 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

In determining which predictor variable contributes the most to function 1, discriminant function coefficients and loadings were examined (Table 4.24). The results suggested that “preferred roles of tourism in the community’s future” was the most important predictor in discriminating the sub-groups, followed by perceptions of “tourism’s role in the future livelihoods portfolio”, “tourism entrepreneurship”, and “tourism jobs”. The examination of the discriminant loadings and the unstandardized discrimination function coefficients supported this weighting of these factors (see Table 4.21).

Table 4. 21: Canonical discriminant function 1 coefficients and loadings

Variables	Unstandardized coefficients	Standardized coefficients	Discriminant loadings
Perceptions of tourism as a livelihoods strategy	.48	.24	.14
Preferred roles of tourism in the community’s future	2.80	1.00	.94
Willingness to work in tourism industry	.23	.12	.09
Tourism entrepreneurship	.47	.16	.11
(Constant)	-7.23	N/A	N/A

In addition to the examination of function coefficients and loadings, the group centroids were also identified. It was found that *moderate supporters* and *willingly involved controllers* had positive values of .12 and 4.88 respectively, whereas *community-oriented supporters* and *extreme enthusiasts* had negative values (-.191 and -2.69 respectively). From the fact that the signs of the coefficients associated

with all the predictors were positive (see Table 4.21), it can be predicted that the more positive of the four variables are the more likely to result in a higher level of support.

4.4.4.3 Profiles of sub-groups viewing tourism as a livelihoods choice

Social representations theory suggested examining the commonalities in the response to the questions to see how the people responding in the same way are linked in terms of group identity and membership (Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). In this section, the demographic and psychological profile of the four sub-groups was explored by cross-tabulation analysis with Chi-square test. The Chi-square statistic revealed that regional origins, age, education, contact and benefits were significantly related to sub-group identification. The df, χ^2 and p values of Chi-square test were 3, 16.07 & .001 (for regional origins); 3, 10.16 & .017 (for age); 9, 31.90 & .000 (for education); 9, 27.87 & .001 (for contact); and 9, 39.28 & .000 (for benefit) respectively. For those significantly related factors, their cross-tabulation analysis with cluster groups are listed in Table 4.22.

Table 4. 22: Cross tabulation profiles of tourism livelihoods sub-groups

Profiles	Categories	Moderate supporters (N=81)	Community-oriented supporters (N=53)	Willingly involved controllers (N=31)	Extreme enthusiasts (N=56)
Regional origins	Indigenous Tibetan (N=108)	43/53.1%	16/30.2%	23/74.2% *	26/46.4%
	Migrant Tibetan (N=113)	38/46.9%	37/69.8%	8/25.8%	30/53.6%
Age	Before 85 (N=87)	22/27.2%	23/43.4%	12/38.7%	30/53.6%
	Post 85 (N=134)	59/72.8%	30/56.6%	19/61.3%	26/46.4%
Education	Junior... (N=21)	4/4.9%	2/3.8%	5/16.1%	10/17.8%
	Senior...(N=47)	6/7.4%	6/11.3%	5/16.1%	30/53.6%
	University...(N=133)	64/79.0%	34/64.2%	19/61.3%	16/28.6%
	Postgraduate (N=20)	7/8.6%	11/20.8%	2/6.5%	0/0%
Contact	Always (N=18)	3/3.7%	6/11.3%	1/3.2%	8/14.3%
	Often (N=52)	9/11.1%	15/28.3%	14/45.2%	14/25.0%
	Sometimes (N=115)	50/61.7%	22/41.5%	13/41.9%	30/53.6%
	Seldom (N=36)	19/23.5%	10/18.9%	3/9.7%	4/7.1%
Benefits	Totally ... (N=25)	6/7.4%	1/1.9%	1/3.2%	17/30.4%
	Somehow (N=81)	24/29.6%	18/34.0%	15/48.4%	24/42.9%
	Not directly (N=82)	38/46.9%	25/47.2%	10/32.3%	9/16.1%
	None (N=33)	13/16.0%	9/17.0%	5/16.1%	6/10.7%

* Shaded notations indicate distinctive differences.

The *Moderate supporters* tended to be younger (72.8% of them were born after 1985), better educated (nearly half of the respondents who had university level education fell into this group), had less contacts with tourists (85.2% claimed few or none contacts), and the majority of them did not (directly) benefit from tourism (62.9%).

The second subgroup, *the community-oriented supporters*, tended to be migrant Tibetans (69.8%), and well-educated (one third of those undergraduate level respondents and half of the postgraduate level respondents were in this group). Like the *moderate supporters*, *the community-oriented supporters* were not familiar with tourism. They did not have much contact with tourists (only 39.6% of them had frequent contacts with tourists) and the majority of them (including their family) were not involved in the tourism industry. This group of respondents thought that tourism was a good livelihoods choice for others, rather than for themselves. This might be due to their higher education background with a greater awareness of other livelihoods and self-development opportunities.

The *willingly involved controllers* were predominantly made up of indigenous Tibetans (74.2%) with clear religious beliefs (58.1%). Compared with the previous sub-groups, they tended to be more familiar with tourism. Nearly half of them (45.2%) claimed frequent contact with tourists, and a similar proportion of them reported that they benefitted somewhat from tourism. Possibly, because of their relatively familiarity with the industry and their understanding of tourism, they advocated capacity management. They suggested that tourism would be more beneficial for the community and sustainable in the long term if it was under suitable control. As a result, they showed their support and positivity towards tourism on one side, but also recommended the low-volume high quality approach. Given the group's dominant Tibetan ethnic background and belief in Buddhism, their attitudes towards future tourism development might be affected by the green economy philosophy inherent in Buddhism.

The final group, the *extreme enthusiasts*, included those who were more likely to be current beneficiaries of tourism development. The majority of the highly tourism dependent respondents (17 out of 25) fell into this sub-group. Another 24 respondents reported that they were somewhat dependent on tourism development. In all, three quarters of the respondents in this sub-group considered themselves as direct beneficiaries of tourism. This sub-group, comparatively speaking, had not received much education. Middle school education background was common among this sub-group (40 out of 56). In Lhasa, as well as across China, it is very difficult for less well educated people to obtain jobs in the government and

administrative positions in state-owned companies. Hence, the less well educated group is more active in searching for opportunities in informal areas such as tourism. As current beneficiaries, they held the highest enthusiasm for its future development.

4.4.4.4 Discussion of tourism as a livelihoods choice

The “*moderate supporters*”, “*community-oriented supporters*”, “*willingly involved controllers*”, and “*extreme enthusiasts*” sub-groups in this study held different attitudes towards tourism as a livelihoods choice under the broader livelihoods portfolio. At a conceptual level, the findings reflect to the proposal from social representations theory that there are competing and sometimes contradictory versions of reality existing side by side in the same community (Howarth, *et al.*, 2004; Mayers, 2005; Pearce, 2009b). Indeed, a topic or phenomenon may have a different meaning for different individuals. Tourism, is not an undifferentiated phenomenon, rather, it may vary considerably in its meanings to different people, even when they are in the same community (Wall, 1993). At the SL framework level, the findings in this section suggest three major issues.

(1) Tourism’s role in the livelihoods portfolio

The examination of the current livelihoods portfolio in the Old Town of Lhasa clearly indicated that tourism was a substantial income source, rather than the only source. In the future, the portfolio may be similar. Tourism can be some residents’ livelihoods choice, but it is not for all. The largest subgroup in this study (“*moderate supporters*”) would not rely on tourism in the future. But if tourism opportunities arise, they would seize them as one of their livelihoods strategies. Their views, to some extent, reflected the dynamic and evolving nature of tourism and livelihoods choices. “*Community-oriented supporters*” considered that tourism would be good for both the community and others’ well-being. However, they were not enthusiastic about taking up tourism jobs.

Realizing that tourism is an opportunity and viewing it as livelihoods diversification has been appreciated in different ways by the Tibetan youth. Livelihoods diversification is beneficial to the long-term development of any society, especially when facing vulnerable issues (Henderson & Robertson, 1999; Niehof, 2004). Tourism as a kind of livelihoods diversification has recently been better acknowledged (Gurung & Seeland, 2011; Kong, *et al.*, 2008; Lee, 2008; Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; Tao, 2006; Tao & Wall, 2009). Wall and Mathieson (2006, pp. 292-293) further stated that, to be sustainable, tourism should be incorporated into and complementary with the existing mix of livelihoods strategies. Indeed,

a multi-sectoral perspective is essential if sustainable development is to be achieved. Reliance on tourism is risky, especially in the event of global social, economic and political instability. The reality of these studies indicated that tourism can play multiple roles in the livelihoods portfolios of different “Post 80s” youth.

(2) Attitudes towards tourism: Meaning of assets

It has been argued that the use of specific assets is a reflection and component of the meaning that one creates (Bebbington, 1999). Assets are more than resources that people use in building livelihoods. Rather, they give people the capacity to be and to act (Sen, 1997). “*Extreme enthusiasts*” in this study viewed tourism as an attractive career, rather than only as jobs to support their life. Being involved in tourism, and expecting more tourism development was consistent with their personal goals, as well as their understanding of community development. “*Willingly involved controllers*” valued the harmonious relationships between “mother nature” and human beings, and advocated alternative tourism where the number of visitors is controlled. Similar interpretations are applicable to other two sub-groups. Indeed, diversification is chosen for different reasons and in different ways, not only depending on the initial assets base, but also deeply affected by one’s personal pursuits (Niehof, 2004). The cognitive combination and transformation of the accessible assets reflects a person’s world.

In addition, trade-offs exist among different livelihoods choices. With limited resources, people often have to sacrifice specific assets in order to build a base suitable to their overall livelihoods strategy (Wall, 2007). In this way, tourism may be a substitute for other livelihoods activities (Ellis, 2000). Thus, in the face of limited assets and multiple opportunities, people need to make a choice. Different livelihoods choices may be sequenced after considering one’s interest, passion and values in a dynamic and historical context (Scoones, 1998). The “*community oriented supporters*” in this study offer a very good example. They were aware of the benefits tourism brings to the community and themselves, and were supportive about more tourism development. However, they were inclined to adopt other livelihoods, rather than tourism. Obviously, tourism was placed behind some other livelihoods choices they valued and could access.

(3) Tourism as a livelihoods diversification: Potential reasons

Reasons for diversification are often divided into two overarching considerations, which are necessity or choice (Ellis, 2000). “Necessity refers to involuntary and distress reasons for

diversifying. Choice, by contrast, refers to voluntary and proactive reasons for diversifying (Ellis, 2000b, p.55).” In this study, the *extreme enthusiasts* were found to be very passionate about tourism and related jobs. They were relatively less educated, which made it hard for them to obtain government jobs. They chose tourism, probably out of necessity. Their counterparts, the well-educated “*community oriented supporters*”, might face very different life trajectories. Being well-educated, they had advantages in accessing tourism development assets. However, after evaluating their own resources, assessing their past, present and future needs and resources, and identifying their strengths and weaknesses, they said no to tourism jobs. They were more enthusiastic about other livelihoods and career opportunities. It seemed that those “*community oriented supporters*” have the flexibility to choose the livelihoods they like most.

4.4.4.5 Summary of the findings

This section explored Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions of tourism as a livelihoods choice under the broader livelihoods portfolio. The classification technique of cluster analysis was employed to explore the composition of the respondents. The key findings of this section include,

- The Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in the community are not homogeneous in terms of their perceptions of tourism as a future livelihoods choice.
- There are four major sub-groups in viewing tourism as a livelihoods choice in the next 5-10 years. They were identified as *moderate supporters*, *community oriented supporters*, *willingly involved controllers*, and *extreme enthusiasts*.
- These four sub-group respondents hold very different views towards tourism as a livelihoods choice. The most important determining factor is their “preferred roles of tourism in the future”, followed by perceptions of tourism as a livelihoods choice, tourism entrepreneurship, and tourism jobs.
- Some social economic factors, e.g. regional origins, age, education, contact and benefits were significantly related to sub-group identification.
- The findings about the four sub-groups correspond to the conceptual scheme of this thesis. It supports the core ideas of social representations theory. It also reinforces to the SL

framework's emphasis on livelihoods diversification.

4.4.5 Sustainable tourism outcomes: IPA analysis

Outcomes are inevitable once the young respondents arrange different kinds of assets for tourism purposes. According to the adjusted dynamic SL framework, the outcomes will directly influence people's livelihoods adjustment in the future, as well as the respondents and their community's well-being. From this perspective, it is worth exploring what kinds of outcomes are preferred by the young hosts based on their understanding of sustainable tourism outcomes. Pearce *et al.* (1996) noted that merely measuring the impacts/performance of tourism is insufficient to understand the influence of the sector. They further suggested incorporating the measurement of importance, to draw a comprehensive picture. Moreover, comparison of the importance and performance scores provides guidelines for future action.

This section of the study focuses on the outcomes. Importance performance analysis (IPA) was adopted as the major presentation approach (Martilla & James, 1977). IPA is able to identify the major strengths and weaknesses, and more practically, to indicate the priorities for future work (e.g. quality improvement, marketing, service management) and policy orientation (Ford, Joseph, & Joseph, 1999; Mikulić & Prebežac, 2008; Wu, Tang, & Shyu, 2010). Through IPA analysis, this section aims to *identify the attributes that Tibetan "Post 80s" considered as important, and further provide implications for future tourism planning and development at the destination.*

4.4.5.1 Overall statistics about the tourism outcomes attributes

Nine items were elicited from the focus groups in terms of what defined sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes in the Old Town of Lhasa. The questionnaire based respondents were asked to score the nine attributes' importance and their expected performance in the next 5-10 years on a five-point Likert scale. The results are summarised in Table 4.23.

Table 4. 23: IPA analysis about the sustainable tourism outcomes

No.	Attributes content	Importance (\bar{x} ; S.D.)	Expected Performance (\bar{x} ; S.D.)	$\frac{\bar{x}_{(E-Performance)}}{\bar{x}_{Importance}}$
1	Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	1.19 (.65)	1.74 (.80)	.55
2	More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	1.39 (.79)	1.65 (.80)	.26
3	Maintains and even improves the environment	1.33 (.77)	2.15 (.96)	.82
4	Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and enhance their well-being	1.59 (.88)	2.05 (.84)	.46
5	Community participate in tourism development (e.g. decision making)	1.69 (1.12)	2.15 (1.01)	.46
6	Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities	1.51 (1.00)	2.12 (.86)	.66
7	Tourists are satisfied and willing to make positive recommendation	1.56 (1.09)	1.98 (.82)	.42
8	Adopt environmental friendly materials and technologies	1.52 (.87)	2.27 (1.00)	.75
9	Availability of legislation and regulations, an orderly industry	1.30 (.73)	1.90 (.92)	.60

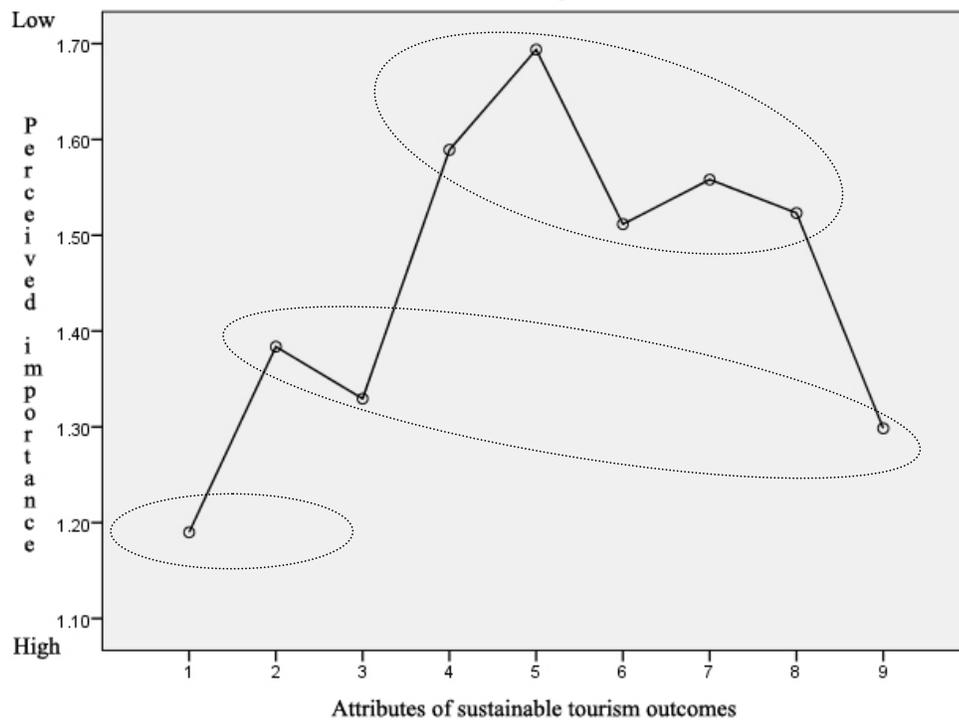
Scale: In terms of importance, 1=very important, 5= not important at all.

In terms of expected performance, number 1= will definitely come true, 5= will never come true.

4.4.5.2 Perceptions of importance of the outcome attributes

All the five importance means fell in the range between 1 and 2, indicating that they were valued as important to very important. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA indicated that there were significant differences among the attached importance to the nine attributes (see Figure 4.5). The Mauchly's Test of Sphericity ($p=.000$) and the tests of within subjects effects ($F=14.31$, $p=.000$, $\eta_p^2=.053$) supported the core result. Pairwise comparisons established the direction of the differences (see Figure 4.5). The attributes falling in the same dashed circle were considered as the same level

of perceived importance at the probability level of 95%. Attribute 1 (on the protection and appreciation of Tibetan culture) was viewed as significantly more important than all other attributes. Moreover, it also had the smallest standard deviation. Its importance was widely recognized. Attributes 2 (on tourism image), 3 (on environment) and 9 (on legislation and regulation) were given a moderate level of importance with small variance among these ratings. Attributes 4, 5, and 6 (on different aspects of the well-being of the host community), 7 (on tourists' satisfaction) and 8 (on environmentally friendly technology) were still considered to be important, but not as important as other two groups of attributes.



The specific meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes		
1. Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	2. More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	3. Maintains and even improves the environment
4. Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and their well-being	5. Community participate in tourism development	6. Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities
7. Tourists are satisfied and willing to make recommendations	8. Adopt environmental friendly materials and techs	9. Availability of legislation and regulations

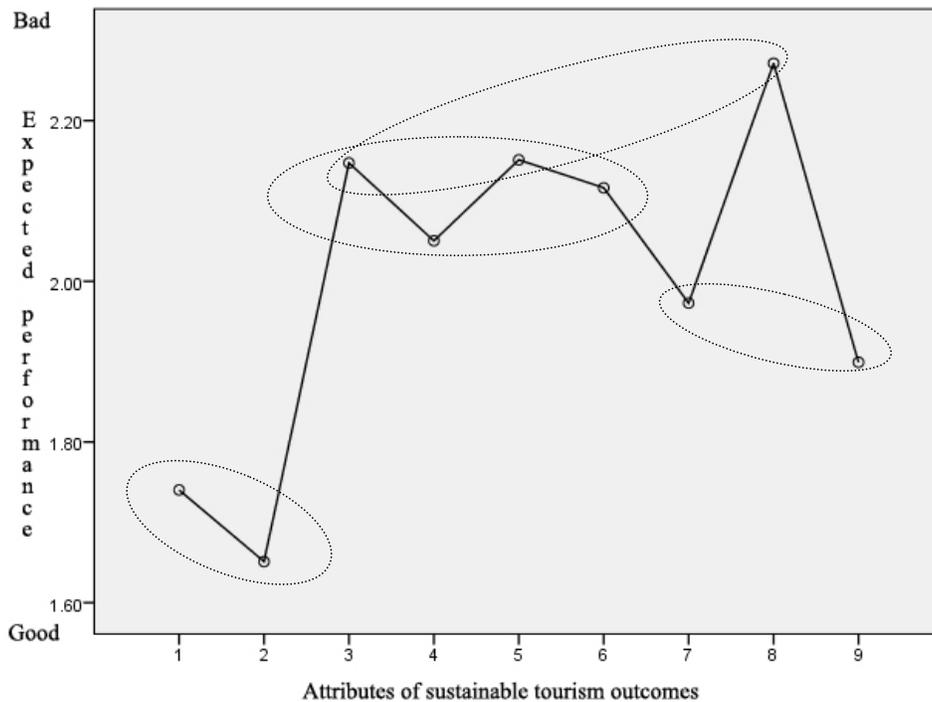
Figure 4. 5: Perceptions of importance of outcomes attributes

4.4.5.3 Perceptions of expected performance of the outcome attributes

In terms of the expected performance, the young respondents in this study were quite positive. The means of nine attributes were all close the value of 2 (represents “will come true”). This is in line with their general optimistic attitudes towards tourism futures (see 4.4.1). However,

one-way ANOVA analysis between the importance scores and their expected performance showed that there were significant differences among all the attributes (all with $p < 0.01$). In line with the descriptive results presented in Table 4.25, it is evident that the expected performance did not match the importance of these attributes.

Repeated measures one-way ANOVA was conducted again to see whether the expected performance of these nine attributes were perceived significantly differently or not. The Mauchly's Test of Sphericity ($p = .000$) and tests of within-subjects effects ($F = 18.88$, $p = .000$, $\eta_p^2 = .068$) suggested significant differences. Facilitated by multiple comparisons, it was revealed that the significantly most positive scores were given to attribute 1 (on the protection and appreciation of Tibetan culture) and 2 (on tourism image). The least positive scores were attached to attributes 8 and 3 (on environment protection and enhancement), and attribute 5 (on community participation). Other attributes, including attribute 4 (on host well-being), 6 (on host skills), 8 (on tourist satisfaction) and 9 (on legislation and regulation), were located somewhere in the middle (see Figure 4.6). The attributes falling in the same dashed circle are not significantly different from each other.



The specific meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes		
1. Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	2. More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	3. Maintains and even improves the environment
4. Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and their well-being	5. Community participate in tourism development	6. Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities
7. Tourists are satisfied and willing to make recommendations	8. Adopt environmental friendly materials and techs	9. Availability of legislation and regulations

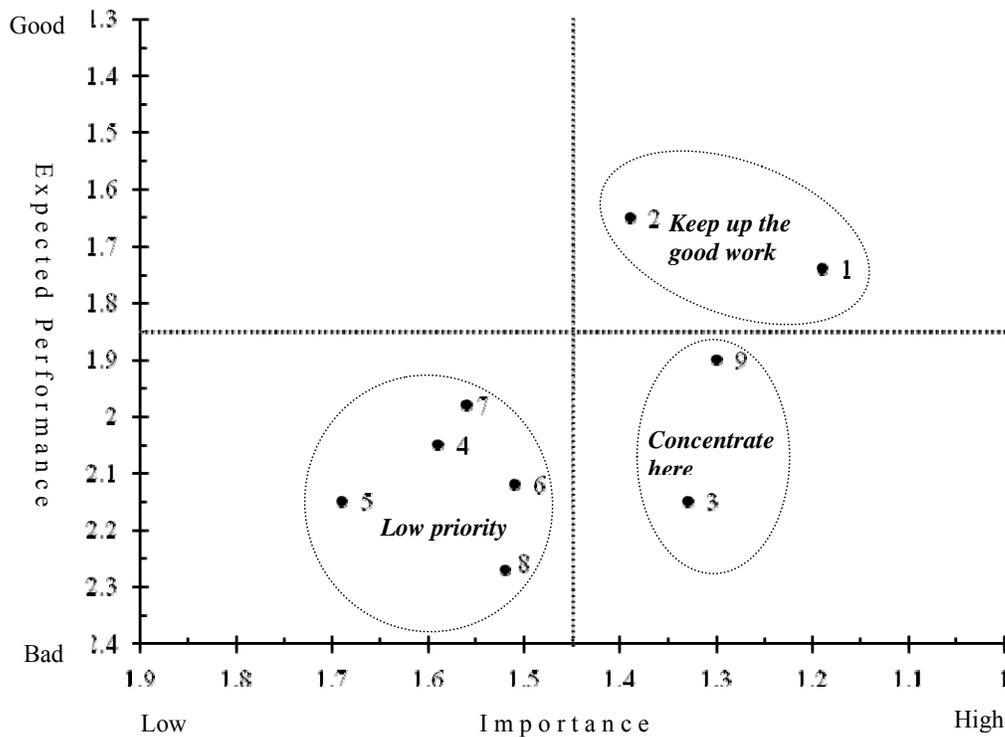
Figure 4. 6: Perceptions of expected performance on outcomes attributes

4.4.5.4 IPA analysis of the outcomes attributes and implications

Based on the importance and expected performance analysis conducted above, an IPA quadrant was drawn. The performance measured in this study was not perceptions of current performance. Rather, it was about the respondents' perceptions of expected performance in the next 5-10 years. The current situation, development trends, and their personal attitudes were all seen as influences on their judgment of the future. It is argued here that the minor change to the standard IPA analysis is more practical for a tourism community futures study.

In the two-dimension quadrant, the arithmetic means of the expected performance scores were depicted along the vertical axis, while the means of importance scores were situated along the horizontal axis. The critical step here is to decide the location of the horizontal and vertical axes or 'cross-hair' points of the grid, which has been somewhat arbitrary in past IPA studies (Lovelock, Patterson, & Walker, 2007). In reviewing tourism and hospitality studies using the

IPA technique, Oh (2001) summarized two main approaches in determining the cross-hair points in the IPA grid. The majority of researchers have used the mean values of importance and performance ratings, while other researchers used the mean values of the scales employed for measuring importance and performance. Using different methods results in varied interpretations. It is argued here that both of these commonly adopted approaches may not be appropriate, because neither of them considers whether there is any significant differences among these importance/performance values. In this study, the dividing point for the importance scores considered the repeated measures one-way ANOVA results. In this way, the dividing point reflects the significant differences between the ratings above this point and the ones below. Hence, in this study, 1.45 for the importance score and 1.85 for the expected performance score was used to divide the grid into four quadrants (see Figure 4.7).



The specific meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes		
1. Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	2. More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	3. Maintains and even improves the environment
4. Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and their well-being	5. Community participate in tourism development	6. Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities
7. Tourists are satisfied and willing to make recommendations	8. Adopt environmental friendly materials and techs	9. Availability of legislation and regulations

Figure 4. 7: IPA analysis of the tourism outcomes attributes

Figure 4.7 revealed that the priority of future work should be placed on attribute 3 (“Maintains and even improves the environment”) and attribute 9 (“Availability of legislation and regulations”), because their expected performance were significantly lower than the first tier of attributes, but their importance was well-recognized, and was actually higher than most of the remaining attributes.

It is worth noting that attribute 3 was valued as an important attribute, while perceived as potentially the worst performed in the future. The substantial concern about this environmental issue has its origins in Tibetan Buddhism. “From a Buddhist view, the origin of wealth is threefold: first, springing from nature, second, generated by the combined character of collective work, and third, from one’s own work (L-FG-1, 2010).” As a member in the first focus group stated, “Tibet is a nation which first and foremost sees nature as the sources of wealth and thus attach as high importance to the protection of the natural environment (L-FG-1, 2010).” Arguably, the frequent negative reports by the media and other personal experiences have made the respondents relatively pessimistic towards environmental protection’s performance in the next 5-10 years. As declared by another member in the third group, “nature is the ultimate source of value. All efforts must be taken to protect this source from damage and irreversible destruction.” As a result, Tibetan “Post 80s” youth prioritized the desired work towards environment protection and enhancement. To some extent, it supports Choi and Murray (2010) and Huayhuaca *et al.*’s (2010) findings that environmental sustainability within tourism is critically related to residents’ attitudes towards tourism development at community level.

Accompanying the environmental concern, the legislation and regulations of tourism market (attribute 9) were rated as of high importance. This issue possibly reflects the young respondents’ disappointment with the current tourism market. Unethical behaviours, especially tourism scams, were witnessed or heard from time to time. This is in opposition to their traditional values in interpersonal relationships and ways of doing business. Both Buddhist scripts and Confucian teachings promote appropriate economic behavior and an accumulation of wealth and acquisition only by proper and lawful means (Schmithausen, 1991; Yang, 1980). In both cultures, seeking wealth unlawfully, and getting wealth through sacrificing others’ well-being, is considered as the worst way of earning one’s keep (Pun, *et al.*, 2000; Shang & Lai, 2010). In both cultures, the harmonious relationships with outsiders, with nature, and with future generations, are all critical. In the future, special work may be done to create an orderly tourism market, through which the harmonious relationships can be achieved.

Besides, attribute 1 (“Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected”) and attribute 2 (“More people approach Lhasa with an open mind”) were also perceived as very important and they were expected to perform well in the near future. This, to some extent, suggested that the young generation in the Old Town of Lhasa were very aware of their tourism assets base and the vulnerable environment in which they existed. It once again reflected the young hosts’ optimism about themselves and their future. To protect issues they value, work will be constantly needed to manage these specific areas of the protection of Tibetan culture and the proper promotion of the destination image. In the future, more positive, objective, and holistic media reports should be constructed.

The remaining attributes identified by the focus groups participants were located in the “low priority” quadrant. From the raw importance scores they received, these items were still very important outcomes that the local youth valued. So, future work should not neglect these issues as multiple aspects of host well-being (attribute 4 on economic well-being, attribute 5 on social-political well-being, and attribute 6 on human assets enhancement), tourist satisfaction (attribute 7) and technology issues do matter as well (attribute 8).

4.4.5.5 Summary of the findings

This section of the thesis measured and compared the nine sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes in terms of importance and their expected performance. This is valuable to activate the SL framework and make it a living framework by identifying the priorities for future work.

- To achieve the sustainable tourism livelihoods, the young respondents regarded the protection and enhancement of the environment, and the legislation and regulation of the tourism market as the highest priorities.
- The leading issues that the young respondents looked forward to improve in the next 5-10 years include of the protection and enhancement of the environment, the regulation of the tourism market, the appreciation of Tibetan culture, and delivery of proper images of tourism in Lhasa.

These working priorities shed light on what the future leaders are concerned about and care for in their community’s sustainable future. The information provides useful guidance for planners and managers of tourism within Lhasa. It once again indicates that the cultural issues (mainly the traditional thinking in this case) are influential when respondents think about their collective future. The cultural meanings and interpretations that the young respondents assign to tourism related objects in their community are central to their perspectives. Thus, this thesis

once again strengthened the idea that the local young generation can serve as an important and valuable window to understand the host community and their needs for the future.

4.5 Sub-groups' Representations: Livelihoods Group based

This section analyses how the four different livelihoods groups see tourism futures, tourism assets and tourism outcomes. The four livelihoods groups (*moderate supporters*, *community oriented supporters*, *willingly involved controllers*, and *extreme enthusiasts*) were chosen, because they were believed to be the most effective categories to understand tourism issues in the community when compared with other classifying factors based on demographic factors, general attitudes towards tourism futures, and representations of seasonality. The categorisation was also chosen because of its connecting role in the SL framework. Attitudes towards tourism as a livelihoods choice are directly affected by their perceptions towards tourism assets, the use of other assets, and contextual issues. They also directly influence their perceptions of tourism outcomes and further investment or adjustment. In return, different livelihoods sub-groups might have different general attitudes towards tourism futures, towards tourism assets, access issues, and outcome issues. Exploring these sub-representations is closely related to the major aims 1.5 and 4 of this thesis (see pp. 95-96 in Chapter 2).

Mixed-model factorial ANOVA analysis was adopted as the main method in this section. This technique combines one independent samples factor and one correlated group factors (Arkkelin, n.d.). As a result, it involves a mixture of one between-groups factor and one within-subjects factor. The between-groups factors and results are central to this study. In addition to the mixed-model factorial ANOVA, this study also employed independent sample t tests, and descriptive analysis (frequency and cross-tabulation analysis with Chi-Square test).

4.5.1 Livelihoods groups' representations on general attitudes towards tourism futures

The young respondents in this study were classified into three attitudes groups according to their assessment of current tourism and future tourism. Cross tabulation analysis with Chi-square test was adopted and it was found that there were significant differences among these livelihoods groups' general attitudes towards tourism futures in the next 5-10 years ($\chi^2=16.21$; $df=6$; $p=.013$) (see Table 4.24).

Table 4. 24: Livelihoods group and attitudes groups’ cross tabulation analysis

Livelihoods groups General attitudes	<i>Moderate supporters</i>	<i>Community oriented supporters</i>	<i>Willingly involved controllers</i>	<i>Extreme enthusiasts</i>	Total
Very positive group	38	14	7	32	91
Medium positive group	28	28	17	16	89
Negative group	9	8	5	7	29
Total	75	50	29	55	209

From Table 4.24, it is noted that the *extreme enthusiasts* and *moderate supporters* were significantly more positive towards tourism futures than the *community-oriented supporters* and *willingly involved controllers*. *Extreme enthusiasts* were enthusiastic about tourism, with highest contacts with tourists and benefits from tourism. *Moderate supporters* were somewhere in between, but they were ready to seize tourism opportunities if they arise. They were mostly migrant Tibetan youth. The *willingly involved controllers* were mostly in the medium positive group. They were interested in tourism jobs and perceived themselves be benefitted from tourism, but proposed controlled tourism development. The findings here suggested that the relationships between benefits from tourism and perceptions of tourism are not as linear as previous studies have observed (Andriotis, 2005; Ap, 1992; Cottrell, *et al.*, 2007; Pizam, 1978). It is mediated by cultural issues, for example, the strong influence of Tibetan Buddhism on the *willingly involved controllers* in this study.

4.5.2 Livelihoods groups’ representations on tourism attraction assets and tourist groups

This section explores the four sub-groups’ perceived values, difficulty and desirability of developing the five sets of tourism assets, as well as their preferences for different kinds of tourists.

4.5.2.1 Perceived value of five tourism assets by livelihoods groups

The analysis of this section begins with case selection. Those who chose “not sure” to any of the three questions on values, difficulty, and development judgement, were omitted as missing values. As a result, 180 cases out of 221 livelihoods cases were regarded as valid, with 68 *moderate supporters*, 46 *community oriented supporters*, 18 *willingly involved*

controllers, and 48 *extreme enthusiasts*. The samples for the next two sections, exploring development difficulty and desirability use this same number of respondents.

A mixed-model factorial ANOVA (also known as two-way mixed model ANOVA) was adopted. The independent variables are the five sets of tourism assets and the four livelihoods groups, while the dependent variable is the young hosts' perceived value of the tourism assets. The descriptive statistics results are displayed in Table 4.25. The low probability value (.001) and large partial eta squared value (.086) in Tests of Between-Subjects Effects suggested that these four livelihoods groups held significantly different views on the value assessment of the five sets of tourism assets in the Old Town of Lhasa. The differences among these four groups can be seen in Figure 4.8.

The mixed-model factorial ANOVA indicated that there was significant difference at the overall level. The approach, however, does not locate where the significant differences lie. As a result, one-way ANOVA was undertaken to do the supplementary analysis. It was found that the perceived values of the religious sites and Tibetan medicine varied significantly among four livelihoods groups ($p=.013$, $p=.005$ respectively). The *moderate supporters* and *extreme enthusiasts* attached significantly more values to these two tourism assets. This value judgement is consistent with their general attitudes towards tourism futures presented in 4.5.1. More detailed explanation concerning the value of religious sites and Tibetan medicine are worth exploring, in even more detail in future studies.

Table 4. 25: Descriptive statistics for the perceived values of tourism assets for the four livelihoods groups

Tourism assets	Livelihoods group	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
World heritages	Moderate supporters	1.10	.39	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.30	.66	46
	Willingly involved controllers	1.28	.67	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.25	.70	48
Religious sites	Moderate supporters	1.57	.78	68
	Community oriented supporters	2.04	.82	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.00	.84	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.62	.96	48
Traditional yards	Moderate supporters	1.76	.77	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.70	.63	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.00	.77	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.54	.77	48
Daily life & customs	Moderate supporters	1.54	.70	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.67	.87	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.11	.96	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.58	.87	48
Tibetan medicine	Moderate supporters	1.57	.83	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.76	.76	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.17	.92	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.42	.68	48

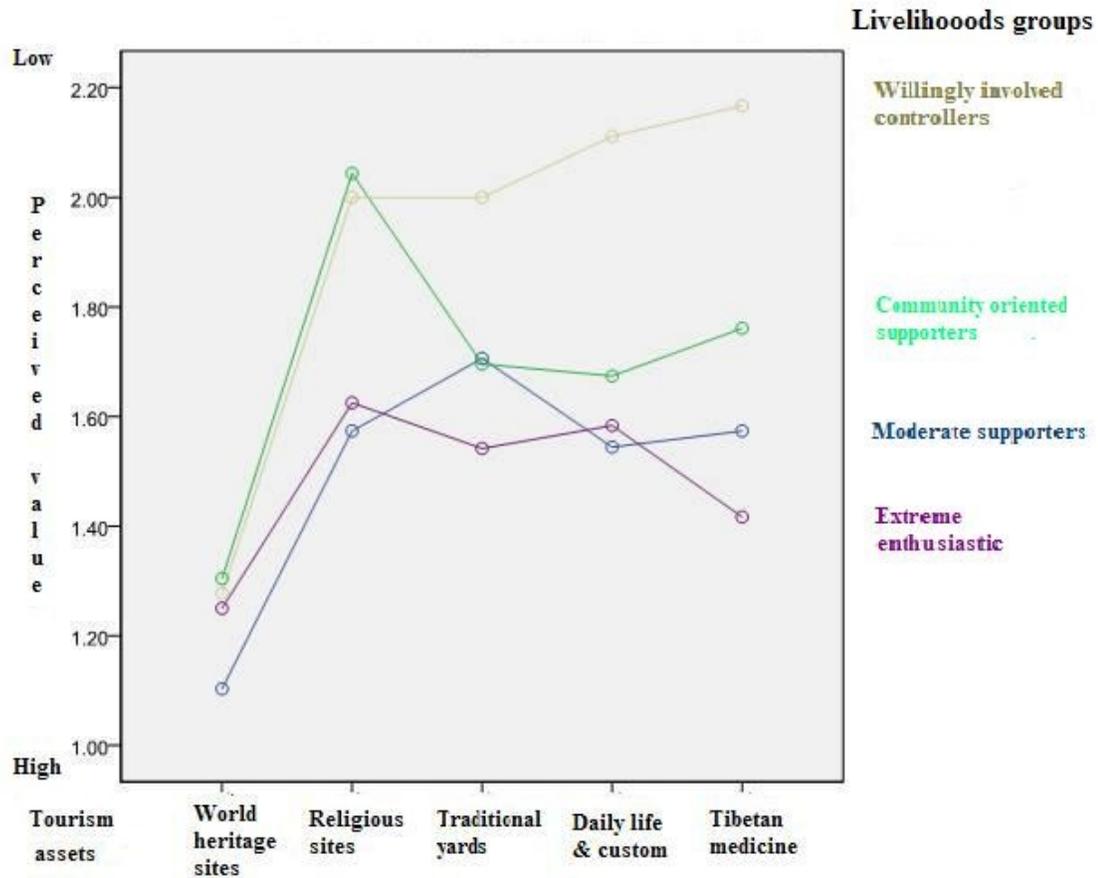


Figure 4. 8: Perceived values of the tourism assets by four livelihoods groups

4.5.2.2 Perceived difficulty of five tourism assets by livelihoods groups

A mixed-model factorial ANOVA was run in this section as well. *Tests of Between-Subjects Effects* ($F=1.08$; $p=0.360$; $\eta_p^2=0.018$) suggested that there was no significant difference among the four groups' overall perception of development difficulty for the five sets of tourism assets. This was further supported by one-way ANOVA, which suggested that the four livelihoods groups did not hold significantly different views towards the judgement of any specific tourism assets' development difficulty.

4.5.2.3 Perceived desirability of five tourism assets by livelihoods groups

Table 4.26 presents the descriptive information about four livelihoods groups' assessment of development desirability towards the tourism assets. *Tests of Between-Subjects Effects in mixed-model factorial ANOVA* (Table 4.26) suggests that these four sub-groups held significantly different views on the development desirability of different tourism assets ($F=20.56$; $p=0.000$; $\eta_p^2=0.260$).

Table 4. 26: Descriptive statistics for the perceived desirability of tourism assets for the four livelihoods groups

Tourism assets	Livelihoods group	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
World heritages	Moderate supporters	1.29	.62	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.67	1.14	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.50	1.29	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.27	.76	48
Religious sites	Moderate supporters	1.54	.78	68
	Community oriented supporters	2.04	1.17	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.61	1.20	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.52	.74	48
Traditional yards	Moderate supporters	1.82	.86	68
	Community oriented supporters	2.15	1.19	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.50	1.20	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.63	.79	48
Daily life& customs	Moderate supporters	1.56	.61	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.78	.96	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.61	1.20	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.29	.50	48
Tibetan medicine	Moderate supporters	1.76	.79	68
	Community oriented supporters	1.76	.85	46
	Willingly involved controllers	2.83	1.42	18
	Extreme enthusiasts	1.52	.77	48

Table 4. 27: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects of the development desirability of tourism assets by livelihoods groups

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Intercept	2517.00	1	2517.00	1542.92	.000	.898
Livelihoods groups	100.62	3	33.54	20.56	.000	.260
Error	287.11	176	1.63			

Figure 4.9 below displays the significant difference. Overall, the *willingly involved controllers* showed the least interest in developing all the tourism assets, while the *Extreme enthusiasts* were the most passionate in developing these tourism assets.

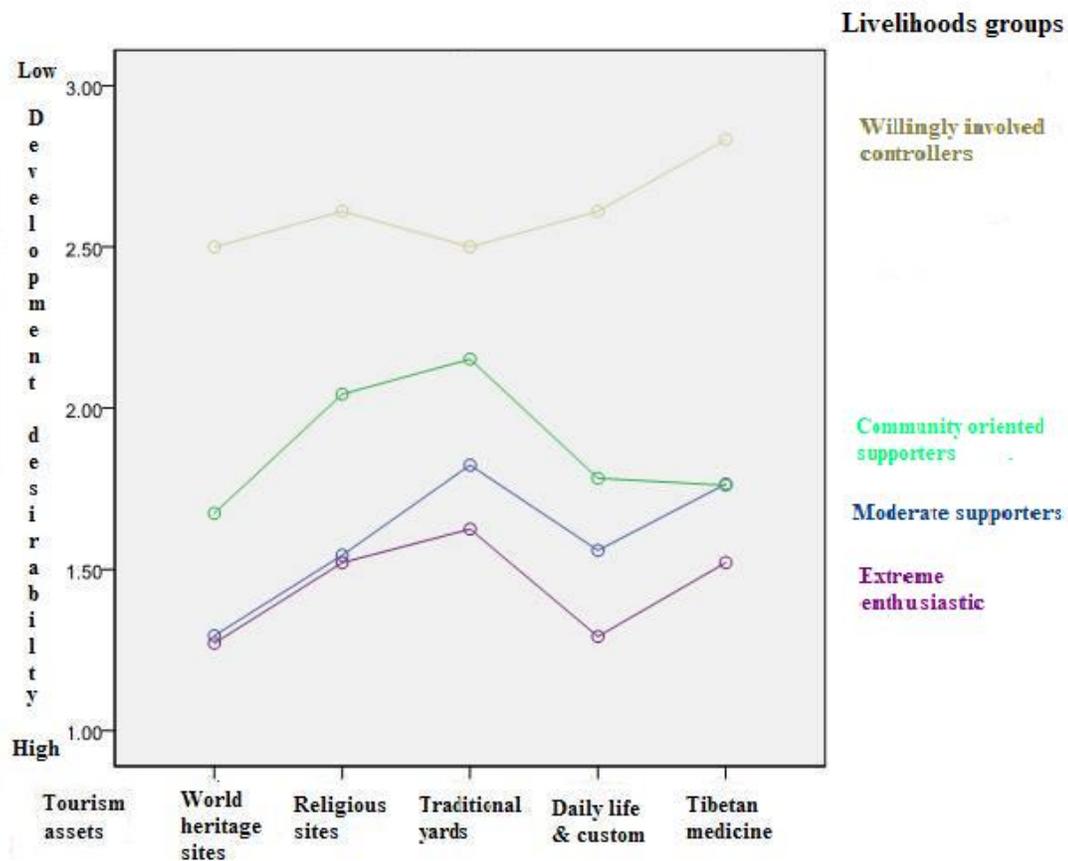


Figure 4. 9: Perceived desirability of developing the tourism assets by four livelihood groups

One-way ANOVA was employed again to further examine whether there were any differences perceived by these four groups at the single tourism asset level. The analysis showed that all the five tourism attraction assets were perceived as significantly different by the four livelihoods groups ($p=.000$, $.000$, $.004$, $.000$, and $.000$ respectively).

- *Extreme enthusiasts* and *moderate supporters* responded by recording higher desirability levels in developing the world heritage sites into tourism attraction than the *community-oriented supporters* and *willingly involved controllers*. Meanwhile, it is also found that, among the other two groups, *community-oriented supporters* showed significantly more enthusiasm for such development than the *willingly involved controllers*.
- Similar trends were discovered in the four groups' perceptions of development desirability for the religious sites with that of the World heritage sites. This might have originated from their essentially religious nature.
- In terms of Tibetan traditional yards, *extreme enthusiasts* and *moderate supporters* shared a similar degree of desirability for tourism development, while *community-oriented supporters* and *willingly involved controllers* held similar but significantly less interest in developing these sites.
- In developing Tibetan daily life and customs into tourism attractions, *extreme enthusiasts* continued to show the highest interest, whereas, the *willingly involved controllers* showed the least interest. This result was similar to their attitudes towards other tourism assets. The scores for the *moderate supporters* and *community-oriented supporters* lay between these two extreme groups.
- Concerning the last tourism assets, Tibetan medicine, the *willingly involved controllers* once again were the least enthusiastic group. The rest of the groups, however, responded by recording similar levels of development desirability for these types of assets.

4.5.2.4 Preferred tourist groups by livelihoods groups

Cross-tabulation between the preferred tourist groups and the livelihoods groups was conducted in this section. The analysis was with Chi-Square test. Those 192 young hosts who specified their preferred tourist groups were chosen as the research sample for this section. The sample was identified previously (see 4.4.4.2).

The Chi-square test established that the livelihoods groups reported significantly different preferences for tourist groups visiting the world heritage sites ($\chi^2=24.96$, $df=12$, $p=.015$).

Extreme enthusiasts welcomed tourists from Coastal China significantly more than other groups of tourists. *Willingly involved controllers* who argued for the control of tourist volume exhibited significantly more interest in attracting Western tourists. *Moderate supporters* and *community oriented supporters*' preferences for tourists groups were relatively evenly distributed in their preferences for westerners, coastal Chinese, and those from middle and west China.

Table 4. 28: Cross-tabulation between preferred tourist group for world heritage sites and livelihoods groups

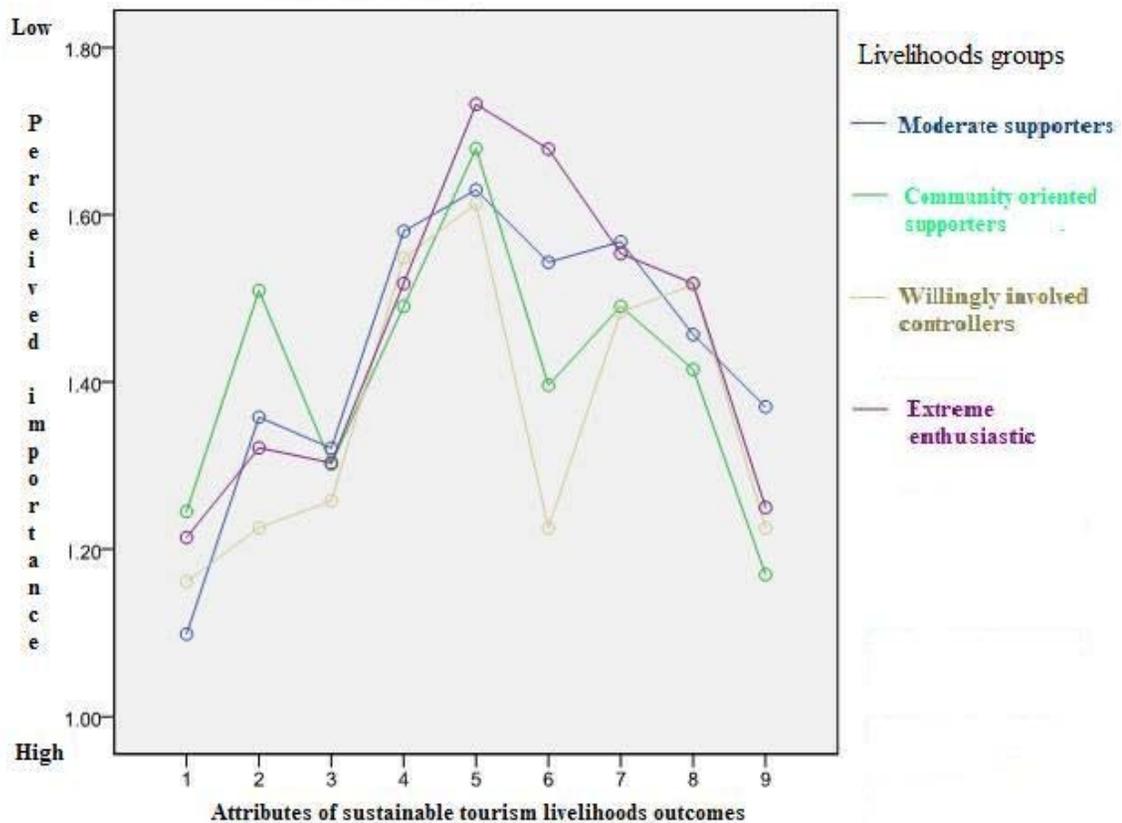
Livelihoods groups \ Tourist group	<i>Moderate supporters</i>	<i>Community oriented supporters</i>	<i>Willingly involved controllers</i>	<i>Extreme enthusiasts</i>	Total
Coastal Chinese	18	11	1	22	52
Middle & west China	14	11	3	12	40
<i>Khampa & Amdo</i> Tibetans	2	1	2	0	5
Eastern Asians	4	2	3	3	12
Foreigners (Westerners)	36	20	15	12	83
Total	74	45	24	49	192

4.5.3 Livelihoods groups' representations on tourism outcomes

The section assesses the four livelihoods groups' perceptions of the importance and expected performance of the attributes describing tourism outcomes. Through the IPA technique, the potential priority differences held by different groups can be tracked. The sample in this section consisted of the 221 young respondents who were identified in the livelihoods groups study, with 81 *moderate supporters*, 53 *community oriented supporters*, 31 *willingly involved controllers*, and 56 *extreme enthusiasts*.

4.5.3.1 Importance assessed by the livelihoods groups

The analysis in this section employed a mixed-model factorial ANOVA technique. The results are presented in Figure 4.10. At the overall level, no significantly difference in importance perception by the four livelihoods groups was noted ($p > .05$, $\eta_p^2 = .003$).



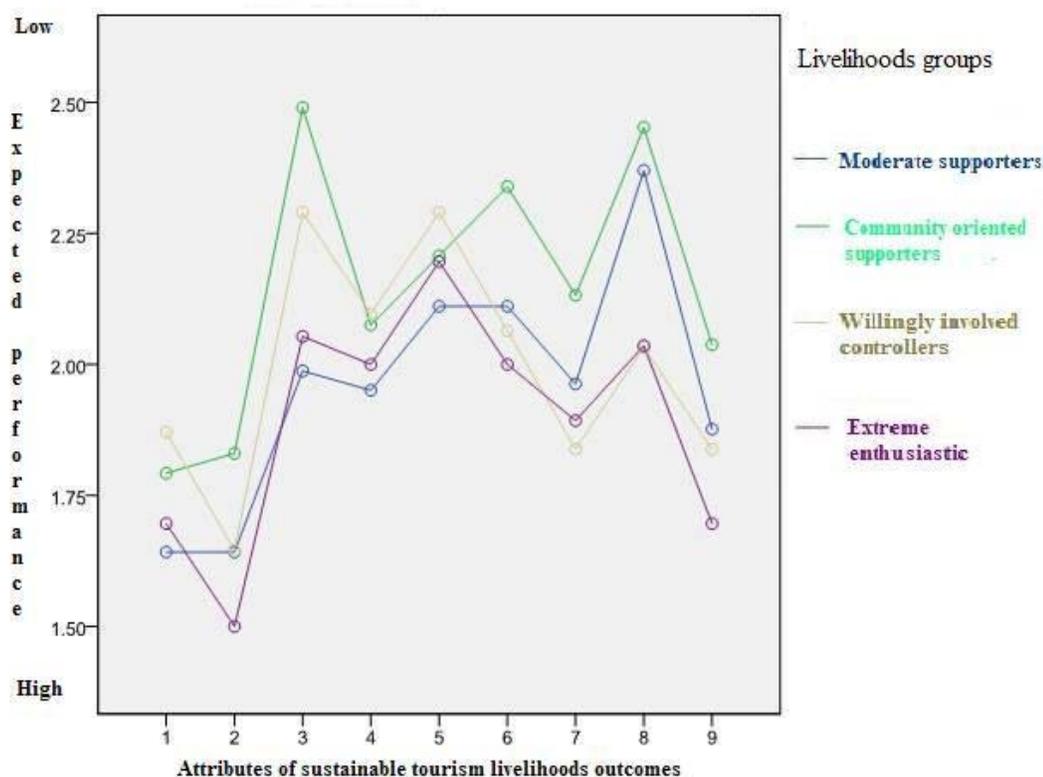
The specific meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes		
1. Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	2. More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	3. Maintains and even improves the environment
4. Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and their well-being	5. Community participate in tourism development	6. Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities
7. Tourists are satisfied and willing to make recommendations	8. Adopt environmental friendly materials and techs	9. Availability of legislation and regulations

Figure 4. 10: Perceived importance of tourism outcomes attributes by four livelihoods groups

A one-way ANOVA was conducted again to investigate whether or not there was any significant difference perceived by these four groups at a single attribute level. The results are consistent with the findings from the mixed-model factorial ANOVA. Even at the single attribute level, each attribute was not perceived significantly differently.

4.5.3.2 Expected performance assessed by the livelihoods groups

In terms of the expected performance, the mixed-model factorial ANOVA analysis noted that the level of expected performance were perceived as generally similar ($F=2.51$, $p>.05$, $\eta_p^2=.034$). Figure 4.11 displays the detailed distribution.



The specific meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes		
1. Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected	2. More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	3. Maintains and even improves the environment
4. Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and their well-being	5. Community participate in tourism development	6. Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities
7. Tourists are satisfied and willing to make recommendations	8. Adopt environmental friendly materials and techs	9. Availability of legislation and regulations

Figure 4. 11: Expected performance of tourism outcomes attributes by four livelihoods groups

One-way ANOVA analysis suggested that select significant differences existed in their perceptions of environmental attributes. In particular, significant results were found for attribute 3 on environmental protection and enhancement, and attribute 8 on adoption of environmental friendly techniques (both $p < .05$). The *extreme enthusiasts* and *moderate supporters* thought tourism development would contribute significantly greater to the protection and enhancement of environment than that of the other two groups. Concerning the adoption of new environment friendly materials and technologies, the *extreme enthusiasts* and *willingly involved controllers* were significantly more positive than that of the *moderate supporters* and *community oriented supporters*.

4.5.3.3 Future priorities identified by the livelihoods groups

The importance and expected performance scores were compared in the IPA quadrants. Those attributes whose expected performance scores were below average, but their importance scores were close to or above average, were assigned the highest priorities for future work in the next 5-10 years.

The *moderate supporters* considered that special attention should be paid to the protection and improvement of the environment (attribute 3), and the encouragement for adopting environmentally friendly new materials and technologies (attribute 8), during tourism development in the next 5-10 years.

Besides the environmental issues (attribute 3 and 8) emphasized by *moderate supporters*, *community-oriented supporters* thought the enhancement of local human assets through training and education (Attribute 6) should also be listed as priority work for tourism development in the next 5-10 years during tourism development.

The *willingly involved controllers* strongly hoped tourism development in the next 5-10 years would protect and enhance their environment (Attribute 3), increase the human assets (Attribute 6), and be an orderly market with effective regulation and legislations (Attribute 9).

The *extreme enthusiasts* in this study thought the priority should be given to Attribute 3, protecting and enhancing the environment.

To conclude, the highest priorities for future tourism development is the protection and enhancement of environmental quality. That is the consensus of all the four livelihoods groups. Meanwhile, some groups thought that encouraging the adoption of new materials and technologies, the enhancement of human assets, and/or the building of an orderly market were worthy of being high priorities during development. This finding is in line with the overall analysis in 4.4.5.4.

4.5.4 Summary of the sub-group representations

The section adopted some attitude-based factors, rather than simple demographic factors, to explore sub-representations of some tourism livelihoods issues. To be specific, the “Post 80s” hosts’ attitudes towards tourism as a livelihoods choice under the broader livelihoods portfolio were used as comparative units in seeing the wider world, tourism assets, and tourism outcomes in this study. The approach offered an incisive way of viewing the Tibetan youth perspectives. Major findings in this section include:

- The majority of the young hosts were positive towards tourism futures in the Old Town of Lhasa. The *extreme enthusiasts* and *moderate supporters*, however, were significantly more positive towards tourism futures than other two groups.
- In assessing the tourism assets, these four livelihoods groups had significantly different judgements about the value of tourism assets and the desirability of development, with some minor differences put forward for the level of difficulty in development. The differences were clearest in assessing the desirability of the development. At an overall level, the *extreme enthusiasts* were very enthusiastic in developing all the tourism assets, while *willingly involved controllers* were least interested in overall development options. At the single asset level, different enthusiasms were also identified.
- For the tourism outcomes, the four livelihoods groups did not show significantly differences in assessing the importance and expected performance of the nine attributes at an overall level. At the single attribute level, the expected performances of some attributes were seen significantly differently (e.g. Attribute 3 and 8 on environment issues). Meanwhile, all the groups identified the protection and enhancement of environment as the highest priority for tourism development in the next 5-10 years. Encouraging the adoption of environmental friendly materials and technologies, the enhancement of human assets, and availability of regulations and legislation were also some of the sub-groups' strongest concerns.

4.6 Summary

Based on the foundation studies (chapter 3), this chapter employed a questionnaire based survey to provide a holistic portrait of Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’ perceptions of and preferences for tourism futures in the Old Town of Lhasa. The questionnaire was constructed using the adjusted SL framework as a guideline for question development. Social representations theory was used to guide data analysis and interpretation. Emic quotations from the foundation studies were employed to interpret the results when necessary.

In detail, this study firstly assessed the young hosts’ overall views on the development of the five tourism assets (e.g. the world heritage sites, religious sites, traditional Tibetan yards, daily life and customs, and Tibetan medicine). More specifically, the values of these assets, the difficulty of developing these assets for tourism purposes, and the desirability to develop these assets were analyzed and compared. In addition, the preferred tourist groups who might visit these assets were also explored.

Additionally, the access concerns for economic, social, political, and human assets were examined and discussed, because development at the micro level should be linked with the macro issues (Chambers & Conway, 1991; DFID, 1999; IFAD, 2007). The mediating effect of broader factors, mainly vulnerability issues and PIP issues, were checked as well, because tourism, as an open system, is subject to a variety of influences and pressures that arise within or outside the tourism domain (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007).

Following the logic of the SL framework, this study explored the perceptions of and preferences for tourism as a livelihoods choice. Four distinctive sub-groups emerged. They were labelled as *moderate supporters*, *community oriented supporters*, *willingly involved controllers* and *extreme enthusiasts*. Finally, the outcomes of tourism as a livelihoods choice were analyzed. The IPA technique was used to identify the direction of future work for the local Lhasa government. The young hosts considered that the environmental protection and enhancement, the availability of regulation and legislation, the appreciation of Tibetan culture, and delivery of better images of tourism in Lhasa were the highest priorities in the near future.

Besides the overall representations, this study also assessed the sub-group representations. It was argued and established that the four livelihoods groups (*moderate supporters*, *community oriented supporters*, *willingly involved controllers*, and *extreme enthusiasts*) offer important insights for understanding the community. The sub-representations analysis theoretically supported the social representations theory's view of a society (Howarth, *et al.*, 2004; Mayers, 2005; Moscovici, 1988). It also empirically supported previous studies of tourism community relationship, which argue that there are coherent groups of individuals with common sets of views that distinguish them from other groups in the same community (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Fredline & Faulkner, 2003; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Pearce & Wu, 2010).

Another key to this study is the incorporation of the cultural issues into the interpretation of the results. The strong influences from the traditional cultures (Tibetan Buddhism and Confucianism), the modern culture (influence from Western culture), and the primary concern with stability were evident in the tourism futures and livelihoods choice issues. This kind of holistic interpretation supported previous statement that traditional cultures are very influential in modern China (Beijing Today, 2010; Kwek & Lee, 2010; Lew & Wong, 2004; Zhang, *et al.*, 2005) and further suggestions that tourism research should incorporate the critical role of context and culture (Li, 2008; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Ryan & Gu, 2009b; Tao & Wall, 2009).

Chapter 5 – Assessing Tourism Futures in Caigongtang Town: Perspectives from a Suburban Site

Chapter Structure

5.1 Introduction

5.2 Aims of the Suburban Site Study

5.3 Research Context

5.4 Research Methods and the Profiles of Research Respondents

5.4.1 Photo-elicitation interviews

5.4.2 Focus groups

5.4.3 Questionnaire-based survey

5.4.4 Data analysis

5.5 Overall Representations: Results and Discussions

5.5.1 Tourism assets in the community

5.5.2 Reverse gaze on tourists and their preferences

5.5.3 Other assets, contextual issues and development

5.5.4 Tourism as a livelihood choice

5.5.5 Sustainable tourism livelihood outcomes

5.6 Summary of the Suburban Site Study

5.1 Introduction

In assessing tourism and its present impacts in Lhasa, it can be noted that the development is quite different in various locations throughout Lhasa; therefore, the way people in different

places have been affected by tourism may be very variable. Thus, this thesis takes Caigongtang Town, a suburban town of Lhasa city, as another study site to examine whether tourism is seen differently or not, and where the differences lie. It is presented as a supplementary study, rather than a full, comprehensive study.

In common with the Old Town site study, the research conceptual scheme for this suburban sites study was also based on social representations theory, the SL framework, and the emic approach. Accordingly, photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups and a questionnaire based survey were adopted in a sequence, with the previous methods again providing insiders' voices for the construction of the next methods. As a complementary study in this thesis, the presentation of the research process and research findings follows a slightly different pattern from the urban site (see chapter 3 and chapter 4). Dominant themes in the research results are presented as opposed to tracking each section in turn.

5.2 Research Context: Caigongtang Town

The research interest of this chapter is Caigongtang Town, a suburban town on the south side of Lhasa River, about 7 kilometres away from the Old Town of Lhasa (see Figure 5.1).

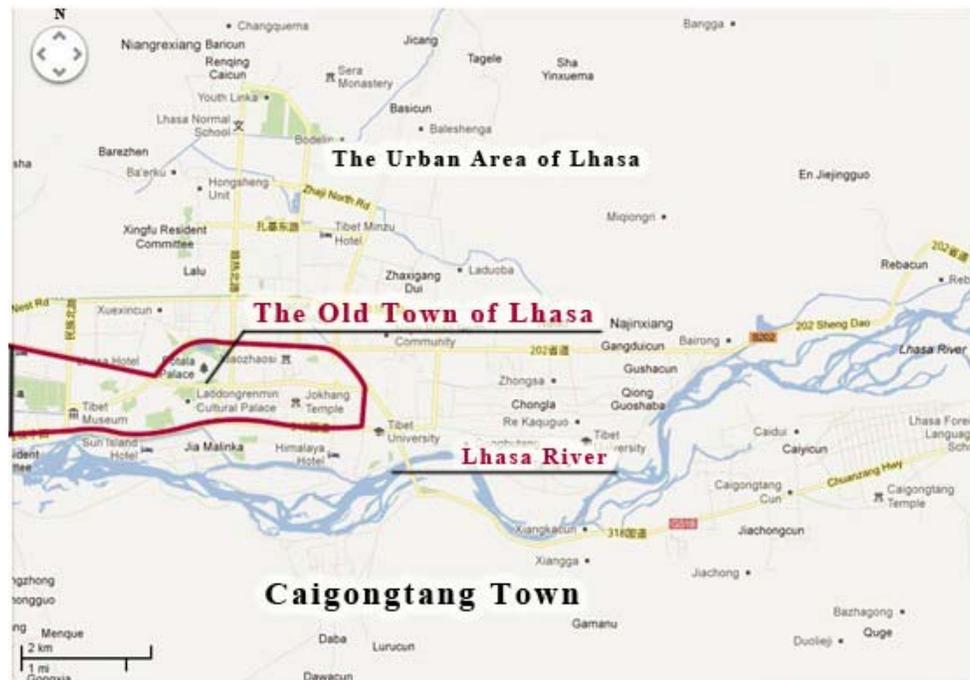


Figure 5. 1: Location of Caigongtang Town (the suburban site)

Source: Edited by Hanliang Li, based on google maps, used with permission

Compared with the Old Town of Lhasa, Caigongtang town is sparsely populated, with a small number of 7,152 residents. It is a traditional agricultural and animal husbandry town, offering primary products to citizens in the Lhasa Urban Centre. Due to its urban-rural border location and beautiful scenery, it was chosen as a second home site by religious nobles during the agricultural-slavery societies. In this suburban town, there are traditional Tibetan manors, Buddhist temples, and open-grass land. Residents and visitors overlook the most holy place, the Potala Palace, from most of high points in the town. Most of the residents' roof tops provide a view of the palace. The vast open-grass land is of the most interest for tourism development in this suburban site.

One of the most popular recreational activities in Tibet is having picnics on the open-grass land. The activity is called going for *Linka* by Tibetans. It is especially popular from late spring to early autumn, when, in the agricultural cycle, it is the off-harvest season and thus a time for celebration and relaxation. Caigongtang town, due to its convenient location, has gained its popularity with citizens in Lhasa and nearby counties as a weekend holiday and recreation destination. Three *Linka* parks/resorts have been established since 2004, either by the local communities or outside companies. The two most popular *Linka* parks/resorts are located in Cijiaolin village. This village is located directly opposite the Potala Palace, the most magnificent and religiously important castle in Tibet. These two *Linka* resorts lie next to each other, and actually share a common wall (see Figure 5.2).

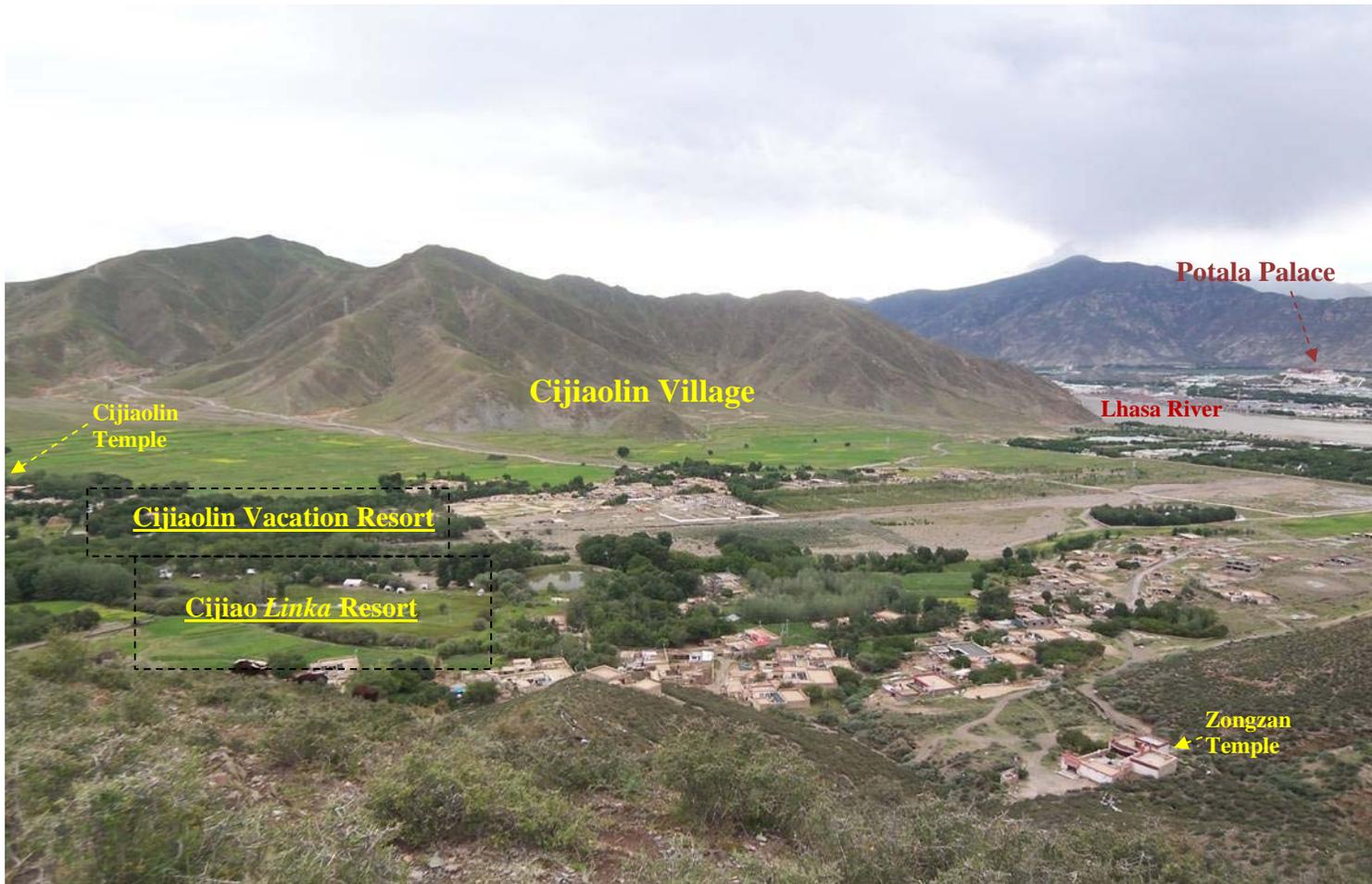


Figure 5. 2: An overview of the two *Linka* parks in Cijiaolin Village

Source: Photograph of Liu Mingjuan (2011), edited by the author, used with permission

The first one, named as Cijiao *Linka* Resort, is collectively owned and operated by one administrative group of the village (there are four administrative groups in the village). It was set up in July 2004. At that time, the park occupied an area of green grass with creeks winding through the space and tall trees offering cool shade. The group organization had a dozen tents available for renting. The revenue source derived from the renting of the tents and a small amount of sanitation fees. Most of the visitors are Tibetans from Lhasa city and nearby counties. If the visitor groups are small in size, they do not have to rent a tent (180 CNY to 500 CNY per tent per day). All they need is to pay the sanitation fees (2 CNY each person).

There are four villagers working in the *Linka* Resort every day. Two are permanent staff, while the other two are recruited daily from the household roster system. There are 65 households in this group. The two permanent staff submit the daily revenue to the group organization. At the end of the year, 10% of the revenue is kept for the collective organization, while the rest is shared equally by all the households in the group. From 2005-2009, each villager in this group was allocated 500-600 CNY yearly.

In 2010, the park was upgraded by the collective group organization by investing 300,000 CNY (47,000 US\$). Five private cabins were built in the park with entertainment facilities. Additionally, a restaurant was set up, offering Tibetan tea, local snacks, and other drinks. It quickly became a fairly popular destination entertaining 300-400 visitors per day during the weekends, with around 70 people during the weekdays. The revenue of park is increasing. Local villagers are participating in the operation in an equal way and therefore all benefit from the collectively owned and managed park.



Facilities in and around the Cijiao *Linka* Resort



Popular with Tibetan citizens in the weekends

Figure 5. 3: Some images of Cijiao *Linka* Resort

Source: Photographs of the author and Zhang Wen-Min, used with permission

On the other side of the wall, lies Cijiaolin Vacation Resort, which was established on the previous manor of Dalai Lama VIII's scribe. This park, although a neighbour of the previously described location, is very different. The property is collectively owned by another group in Cijiaolin Village, however, the group administration team signed a contract with an outside company and transferred the use rights. As a result, this vacation resort is managed by investors, Lhasa Traditional Culture Development Ltd. It has several dozens private cabins in the park, offering modern entertaining facilities. In the centre of the park is the heritage residence of Dalai Lama VIII's scribe. The ground floor has been transferred into a restaurant, while the first floor has been kept for part of its original function as the Buddhism scripture room and a luxury living room. The original bedroom was turned into a grand private dining room. They did not provide accommodation at the time of the research, but night life was available. Bonfire nights are held at the request of visitors, and this is accompanied by Tibetan dancing and singing, and roasting a whole lamb or yak. This park is popular with the working units and groups in the Lhasa Urban Centre, especially the government departments and state owned companies, who are happy to pay the relative high expenses here.



Entrance, renting tents and private cabins



The heritage residence: Luxury and nobility settings



Some entertainment and night life, popular with group

Figure 5. 4: Some images of Cijiaolin Vacation Resort

Source: Photographs of the author and Zhang Wen-Min, used with permission

There are around 40 people working in the vacation park during the peak season (late April to late October). The majority of them are from other cities in Tibet. The folk performance, however, is held by a local performance team on request. This performance team is not affiliated to the privately operated resort. Rather, it is organized by Cijiaolin Village. Table 5.1 offers the key characteristics of these two neighboring parks in the same village.

Table 5. 1: Comparisons between two neighbouring parks in Cijiaolin Village

	Cijiao <i>Linka</i> Resort	Cijiaolin Vacation Resort
Development style	Grass-root style	Elite style
Resource base	Grass land, rivers, and trees	Grass land , rivers, tress, and heritage residence (traditional Tibetan noble buildings)
Administration style	Collectively owned and managed by group committee	Rented and operated by external investors
Target customers	Citizens from Lhasa and local villagers	Group visitors, mainly commercial customers and government officials
Consumption style	Traditional Tibetan <i>Linka</i> (Picnic) on the open air	Luxury private Tibetan style cabins
Income source	Sanitation fees (3 RMB per person), tents renting, and beverage sales Cabins for renting since 2010	Food & Beverage consumption (minimum 500RMB per group); tent rent, cabins rent, Tibetan dance and performance (by appointment)
Community involvement	Full involvement, operated and managed by villagers in turn. Local households take turns.	Less than 10 local youth are employed as waitress and ethnic dancers.
Income share	All the income is equally shared by the villagers in the group at the end of each financial year.	The benefits are owned by the external company, which pays fixed rent to the group committee.

Due to the *Linka* resources, tourism, in the form of mainly day-trips has emerged. Additionally, villagers have begun to sell their fresh agricultural products at different sites where a large number of citizens pass, e.g. along the routes to the parks. For example, the entrance of the *Linka* parks, major road sides, and the centre of the town are locations for sales. Restaurants, family inns and tea rooms/houses have subsequently appeared to cater to tourists' needs. Tourism in this suburban town is still in its early stages. No official statistics on tourist arrivals are available at the current time. A basic estimate of the numbers by the researcher could be that there are 15-20,000 visitors to this site each year. May to October constitutes the predominant season for visitors.

5.3 Aims of the Suburban Site Study

The aim of this suburban site study derives from the main aims 2 and 4 of the thesis, which are,

Aim 2: To examine Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and aspirations about tourism and its futures in Caigongtang Town, a suburban town in Lhasa.

Aim 4: To extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and the emic approach in a non-western context.

Deriving from the main aims, the specific aims of this study include:

- 1) To represent the suburban Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s views on tourism assets for potential tourism development in the future;
- 2) To explore the mediating roles of the secondary and tertiary elements during tourism livelihoods choice, and reflect the wider contextual issues operating on and through tourism;
- 3) To understand suburban Tibetan “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions and preferences towards tourism as a livelihoods choice in the next 5-10 years;
- 4) To identify attributes of the suburban “Post 80s” youth’s perceptions of the sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes and hence provide implications for tourism planning and development at the destination.

5.4 Research Methods and the Profiles of Research

Respondents

Basically the research methods adopted in this suburban study are similar to the study in the Old Town of Lhasa. The specific techniques were, however, varied due to the contextual issues. This section describes how the three step research methods were conducted. The basic information about the research respondents for each method is presented. Unless the method was conducted differently from that in the urban site study, the same material presented in the previous chapter is again relevant here.

5.4.1 Photo-elicitation interviews

Three participants were involved in the photo-elicitation interviews. Two were from Cijiaolin Village, while the third one came from another village in the town. Two of them were recommended by the local village leaders, while the third participant was located through the

author’s local contacts. All of them were ethnic Tibetans, who were born and grew up in this suburban town. The third one, however, worked in a local school, but lived in the city.

In common with the Old Town of Lhasa study, the three participants were given a digital camera and required to take 10-15 pictures of (potential) tourism assets that can be developed as tourism attractions in the near future. The near future was defined as 5-10 years in this suburban study. The interviews were held in a Tibetan tea restaurant. Actually, it was the second interviewee’s tea restaurant. The interviews lasted around half an hour, depending on how much the participant would like to share. All the interviews were voice recorded, with the participants’ permission. The profile of the participants is presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5. 2: Profile of participants in photo-elicitation interviews in Caigongtang Town

No.	Gender	Year of birth	Occupation	Length	Number of photos
C-I-1*	Male	1982	Casual worker in the city, village based	33 mins	11
C-I-2	Female	1987	Owner of a family run Tibetan restaurant	41 mins	14
C-I-3	Female	1981	Local school teacher	37 mins	10

* The code for C refers to Caigongtang Town, I to photo-elicitation interviews, and the number to the specific group. This information is used in documenting the source of later quotations.

5.4.2 Focus groups

With the information gained from photo-elicitation interviews, two focus groups were organized in Caigongtang Town. The first focus group (C-FG-1) was organised through a key informant, who recruited three more respondents in time to participate in the group interview. The other focus group (C-FG-2) was not planned and occurred somewhat naturally, which is classified as ‘spontaneous recruitment’ (Peek & Fothergill, 2009). During the research period, the author showed some of her friends around the suburb town, and met some Tibetan youth near the entrance of the collectively managed Cijiaolin *Linka* Resort. On explaining her

intention to conduct a focus group interview, the young Tibetans generously offered their help. Four participants (2 male and 2 female) comprised this focus group.

The profiles of the two focus groups are listed in Table 5.3. As with the photo-elicitation interviews, all the participants were ethnically Tibetan. They were born and grew up in this area. The focus groups were voice recorded with the participants' permission.

Table 5. 3: The profiles of focus groups in the suburban site

Group	Major occupation	Number of participants	Date	Length
C-FG-1*	Villagers, casual work in the city	4 male	27/05/10	56 mins
C-FG-2	Educated, university students	4 (2 male, 2 female)	02/06/10	49 mins

* The code for C refers to Caigongtang Town, FG to focus groups, and the number to the specific group. This information is used in documenting the source of later quotations.

5.4.3 A questionnaire based survey

Following the research procedure set up in Chapter two, the questionnaire was based on the analysis of interviews and focus groups data. A pilot test was carried out with some participants during the focus groups process to ensure the questions were readily understood. The author also requested that these participants help deliver the questionnaire to their “Post 80s” peers. Meanwhile, two Tibet University undergraduates from this suburban town were recruited as research assistants. Training was held before their involvement in the face-to-face questionnaire surveys (see the English edition at appendix IV).

In all, 110 questionnaires were delivered, and 94 were properly completed. Considering the small population and relatively similar social economic background in this suburban town, this can be considered as an informative sample size (Diekhoff, 1992). Table 5.4 reveals the demographic information about the survey respondents.

Table 5. 4: Profiles of the questionnaire survey respondents in the suburban site

Demographic profiles		Frequency (N=94)	Percent
Gender	Male	35	37.2
	Female	59	62.8
Age	Born in 1980-1984	18	19.1
	Born in 1985-1989	75	81.9
Education level	Junior middle school or under	20	21.3
	Senior middle school/ Technical school	46	48.9
	College/university	27	28.7
	Postgraduate or above	1	1.1
Religious status	Devout believers	23	24.5
	Periodic temple attendees	62	66.0
	No religious belief	9	9.6
Length of residence	1-2 years	17	18.1
	3-5 years	14	14.9
	6-9 years	16	17.0
	10 years and more	47	50.0
Contact with tourists	Always	5	5.3
	Often	17	18.1
	Sometimes	51	54.3
	Seldom	21	22.3
Benefits from tourism	Totally benefitted	21	22.3
	Benefitted to some extent	44	46.8
	Not directly benefitted	23	24.5
	Not benefitted at all	6	6.4

The survey respondents in the suburban site who were all Tibetans, tended to be mainly female (nearly two thirds of the respondents were female) and younger (the majority of them were born between 1985 and 1989). This distribution can be linked with the emigration phenomenon. The mature youth (born in early 1980s) and the

male villagers have moved to cities to earn their livelihoods. These cities include the capital, Lhasa. They also move to various other cities in inland China.

As expected, the educational level of the respondents in the suburban site was lower than that in the Old Town, with less than one third of the respondents receiving higher education. It is also observed that the majority of those in a tertiary education were actually undertaking the degrees in local colleges and universities. In terms of religious belief, 85 out of 94 acknowledged their commitment to Tibetan Buddhism. Due to the community managed *Linka* Resort, most of them had some or extensive contacts with tourists, and had benefitted somewhat from tourism development in the town. The level of benefits was perceived to be higher than the most visited destination in Tibet, the Old Town of Lhasa.

5.4.4 Data analysis

Similar data analysis techniques were adopted in this suburban site study to those in the urban site study. A qualitative content analysis were undertaken to analyse the foundation data. Specifically, Berge's (2007) 6-step approach was used for photo-elicitation interviews analysis and Krueger's (1994) 5-step framework was adopted for focus groups analysis. SPSS (edition 20.0) was selected to analyse the quantitative data collected by the questionnaire surveys. Descriptive analysis, paired-samples t test, repeated measures one-way ANOVA, mixed-model factorial ANOVA, cluster analysis, discriminant analysis, cross-tabulation, one-way ANOVA, independent t-test, and importance-performance analysis (IPA) were the specific analysis methods. The justifications related to the use of these data analysis techniques and how they were run can be found in related sections in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4.

5.5 Overall Representations towards Tourism Futures: Results and Discussions

This section presents the research findings from the suburban site. It includes all the results and interpretation of the three research methods adopted in this study. The

interpretation was organized based on the research contents, rather than the sequence of research methods which helped to reach the research aims. More specifically, it includes the results and discussions of the threefold information penetrating to the SL framework, that is, the suburban youth’ understanding of assets and access, perception of tourism as a livelihoods choice, and aspirations for tourism outcomes.

5.5.1 Tourism assets and development in the community

5.5.1.1 Two sets of tourism assets

Two major tourism assets were identified in the photo-elicitation interviews. They were the *Linka* resources and rurality of the town (see Table 5.5. and Figure 5.4).

Table 5. 5: Tourism assets in Caigongtang Town (photo-elicitation interviews)

Tourism assets	Images	Frequency
<i>Linka</i> resources	Cijiao <i>Linka</i> Resort, Cijiaolin Vacation Resort, and other grass-land	15
Rurality of the town	Local residence, country views, vegetation, animals, traditional customs and life styles	14
Others	Local temples and festivals	6



Linka Resources (picnic areas) in the town



Rurality in the town (scenery, customs, and lifestyle)

Figure 5. 5: Examples of tourism assets in Caigongtang Town

Source: Photograph of the photo-elicitation interviewees, used with permission

In the two focus groups, discussion about the two major tourism assets identified in the previous stage was undertaken. The respondents reviewed the (potential) value of the assets and their interest in developing them for tourism purposes.

5.5.1.2 Perceived value of two tourism assets

In this section and the following two sections (5.5.1.2-3), eighty-four cases out of 94 were regarded as valid, because the rest of the respondents were “not sure” about how much value/difficulty/desirability they should attach to the assets. Due to only two sets of tourism assets, paired-samples t test was employed.

Table 5. 6: Descriptive statistics for the perceived values of tourism assets in Caigongtang Town

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
<i>Linka</i> resources	1.96	.81	84
Rurality of the town	1.92	.76	84

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very valuable, 5=not valuable at all

Paired-samples t test suggested that that there was no significant difference among these two scenarios ($t=.47, p=.64$). That is, the value of *Linka* resources and rurality in the town were perceived as similar.

5.5.1.3 Perceived difficulty of two tourism assets

Table 5.7 presents the descriptive analysis results for perceived difficulty of developing the two identified tourism assets. The means fell between 2 and 3, which revealed that both of the assets were perceived as fairly difficult to develop.

Table 5. 7: Descriptive statistics for perceived developing difficulty of tourism assets in Caigongtang Town

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
<i>Linka</i> resources	2.43	.80	84
Rurality of the town	2.75	.91	84

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very difficult, 5=not difficult at all

Paired-samples t test indicated that *Linka* resources were perceived as significantly more difficult to develop ($t=-2.60; p<.05$).

5.5.1.4 Development desirability of two tourism assets

The descriptive analysis of perceived difficulty showed that the suburban young hosts slightly preferred developing the community owned and managed *Linka* resources (see Table 5.8). Paired-samples t test, however, did not reveal significant differences between the two scenarios ($t=-1.97, p=.052$). That is, the local Tibetan youth were enthusiastic in developing both of the tourism assets identified by themselves, with slightly more interest in *Linka* resources.

Table 5. 8: Descriptive statistics for perceived developing desirability of tourism assets in Caigongtang Town

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
<i>Linka</i> resources	1.49	.63	84
Rurality of the town	1.62	.67	84

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 1=very desirable, 5=not desirable at all

5.5.1.5 Preferred development approaches towards the tourism assets

Due to the enthusiasm in developing the two tourism assets demonstrated in the focus groups and supported in the earlier survey analysis (5.5.1.4), attitudes towards specific development approaches were identified and assessed in this section.

(1) Development approaches towards Linka resources

In the focus groups session, the participants identified 4 approaches to develop *Linka* resources. They were,

- 1) Collectively organize and manage the *Linka* resources by the village/group committee. Villagers benefit equally;
- 2) Outsource, transfer the use and management rights to investors, who will subsequently pay rent to the village and may get some villagers involved in the operation;
- 3) Improve the facilities and provide basic services, attracting nearby Tibetan citizens;
- 4) Establish high-grade resorts, attracting highly consumption oriented visitors, mainly group visitors from working units in the city.

In the questionnaire section, the suburban young hosts were asked to rate their preferences towards these development approaches on a five-point Likert-type scale. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the preferences. The descriptive analysis indicated the first and third approaches were preferred (see Table

5.9). However, attitudes towards approaches two and four were more variable, with larger standard deviation values (>1).

Table 5. 9: Descriptive statistics of the development approaches preferences for *Linka* resources in Caigongtang Town

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Approach 1)	4.20	.94	94
Approach 2)	3.64	1.13	94
Approach 3)	4.01	.85	94
Approach 4)	3.45	1.25	94

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 5 = very preferred, 1=not preferred at all

The subsequent *Tests of Within-Subjects Effects* observed that there was a significant difference among the four development approaches, explaining 10.3 percent of the differences ($F=10.68$, $p=.002$, $\eta_p^2=.103$, see Table 5.10).

Table 5. 10: The comparison of development approaches preferences by within-subjects effects analysis (*Linka* resources in Caigongtang Town)

Source		Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Development approaches	Sphericity Assumed	33.33	3	11.11	10.68	.000	.103
	Greenhouse-Geisser	33.33	2.90	11.50	10.68	.000	.103
	Huynh-Feldt	33.33	3.00	11.11	10.68	.000	.103
	Lower-bound	33.33	1.00	33.33	10.68	.002	.103
Error (development approaches)	Sphericity Assumed	290.17	279	1.04			
	Greenhouse-Geisser	290.17	269.54	1.08			
	Huynh-Feldt	290.17	279.00	1.04			
	Lower-bound	290.17	93.00	3.12			

The results of the Pairwise Comparisons demonstrated that approach 1) and 3) were favoured when compared to approach 2) and 4) (see Figure 5.5). The attributes falling in the same dashed circle were considered as the same level of preference at the probability level of 95%.

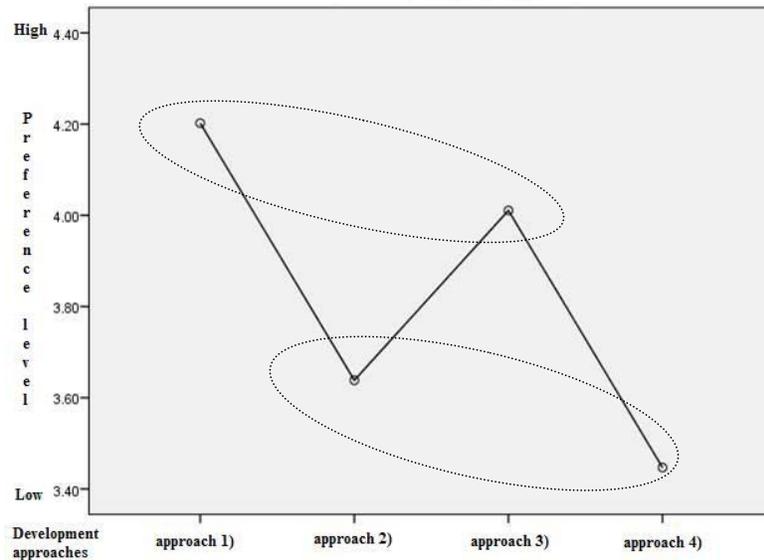


Figure 5. 6: Preference for different development approaches towards *Linka* resources

Reconsidering the development approaches, it is evident that all the four development approaches identified by the young hosts were mirroring what was happening in the community. To be specific, development approach 1) and 3) were consistent with the *Linka* Resort style, which was collectively owned and managed with its benefits equally shared, while development approach 2) and 4) reflected the development styles employed by the Cijiaolin Vacation Resort, which was invested in and managed by outside companies. For this style of management, the economic leakage is greater.

(2) Development approaches towards rurality in the town

Four different approaches were identified to develop the rurality of the town. In order to distinguish the statements from the previous 4 approaches, these approaches were labelled as approach 1)*, 2)*, 3)* and 4)*. In detail, these approaches were,

- 1) *Use one's own spare house or rent others, and provide hospitality services showing traditional Tibetan culture, e.g. family inns, restaurants and tea rooms;
- 2) *Invite outside experienced companies to build large scale Tibetan style resorts;
- 3) *Set up a local performance team, showing Tibetan culture both in town and other places;
- 4) *Develop some souvenirs that are popular and easy to carry from the local agricultural products (e.g. yak meat, highland barley, potato, tomato, and melons)

Repeated measures one-way ANOVA was once again employed to examine whether there were different preferences for the four development approaches listed above. Descriptive statistics (see Table 5.11) revealed that approach 2) * (about investment by outside companies) was, on average, not preferred. This approach, however, might be strongly preferred by a small number of respondents due to its relatively high standard deviation. The remaining three approaches emphasising endogenous forces during development were favoured. Approach 3)* which was connected with supporting the local performance team, (one had been established since 2009) was preferred without much controversy. It had the lowest standard deviation value.

Table 5. 11: Descriptive statistics of the development approaches preferences for rurality in Caigongtang Town

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Approach 1)*	4.27	1.00	94
Approach 2)*	3.81	1.27	94
Approach 3)*	4.22	.88	94
Approach 4)*	4.15	1.05	94

Note: Responses measured on a five-point Likert-type scale where 5 = very preferred, 1=not preferred at all

The tests of within-subjects effects suggested that there were significant differences among the four sets of data ($F=4.98$, $p<.05$). Pairwise Comparisons confirmed this

issue. It indicated that approach 2)* was significantly less preferred by the young hosts, while the remaining three approaches were equally preferred (see Figure 5.6).

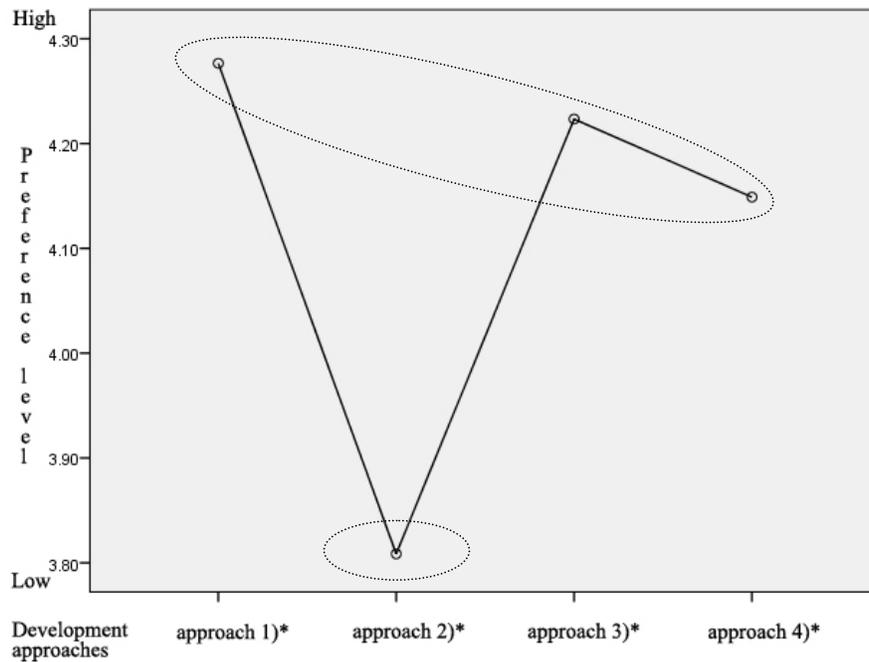


Figure 5. 7: Preference for different development approaches towards rurality in the town

The preferences in this section, in essence, are in line with their preferences for *Linka* resources’ development approaches. These two sections suggested that the young hosts prefer the endogenous development styles, which has been advocated by a number of development scholars (Garofoli, 1992; Shucksmith, 2000; van der Ploeg & Long, 1994) as well as tourism scholars (Apostolopoulos & Sonmez, 1999; Ying & Zhou, 2007) and NGOs (Ministry of Tourism India & UNDP India, 2008; UNDP, 2000). This finding, to some extent, is aligned with the studies which argue for community capacity building (Aref, 2011; Moscardo, 2008).

5.5.1.6 Summary of tourism assets and development

Two tourism assets, *Linka* resources and rurality in the town, were identified by the suburban young hosts. These two assets were believed to have great potential to be developed as tourism attractions in the near future. Both of the identified assets had

been developed at the time of the field trip, but were in the very early stage of tourism growth.

Detailed knowledge about the value of the assets, development difficulty and development desirability were also examined. The suburban youth thought that both the assets were equally valuable. In terms of development difficulty, they suggested that the collectively owned *Linka* resources were significantly more difficult to develop. Though difficult, the youth were enthusiastic to see both kinds of assets being developed in the near future.

Approaches to developing these resources were identified. Very clear preferences for future development approaches were found. The young hosts strongly preferred the *Linka* resources being developed through a community based approach. This view supported and followed the development model of the collectively managed and shared benefits approaches of the Cijiao *Linka* Resort. For the rurality in the town, the young Tibetans were keen on the development based on endogenous forces and using their own resources. They were significantly less enthusiastic about outside investment.

5.5.2 Reverse gaze towards tourists

The official number of tourist arrivals in Caigongtang Town was not available at the time of the research. Local “Post 80s” youth, however, had their own representations of tourists to their community.

5.5.2.1 Lay definition and understanding of tourists

The lay concepts of tourists were discussed in the two focus groups. The suburban youth regarded tourists mainly as “city people” from Lhasa and nearby counties, who took day trips and visited their community for recreation during the weekends. In this sense, tourists were their neighboring Tibetans, who enjoyed the traditional style of recreation, notably “going for *Linka*” in the scenic open-grass areas.

Based on the general understanding of their definition of tourists, further questions were asked to explore the young hosts' perspectives on the nature of tourists. The suburban youth divided tourists on a mixed basis of travel arrangements and tourist origins. In detail, they classified the "city people" into the following sub-groups:

- Individual city people
- Group city people
- Inland Han people
- Foreigners

The individual tourists were citizens in Lhasa and nearby counties, who drove or took a bus to their community. The group tourists were usually organized by their working units, mainly the government and related organizations, and local companies. Meanwhile, but much less frequently, classical tourists, such as "foreigners" and "inland Han people" whom they saw in on the other side of the Lhasa River, the Urban Centre, were also identified.

The suburban young hosts indicated that individual "city people" enjoyed themselves in their community, because "it is the traditional way of Tibetan relaxation; it brings family and friends together; and it is close to the nature". Additionally, it was a favourite destination for working units, and groups of "city people". They were seen as coming to relax and to build and strengthen relationships within their organization. Local youth were less familiar with the occasionally seen foreigners and inland Chinese tourists. Some of them guessed that "they come to see something different from Tibetan urban life, and probably look for something missing in the city life (C-I-2, 2010)."

5.5.2.2 Preferences for specific tourist groups

The young respondents suggested that the motivations and corresponding actions varied among different tourist groups. The researcher hypothesized that the young

hosts might have preferences for specific tourist groups visiting different tourism assets.

From the frequency analysis, it seemed that there were no significant differences between preferences for tourist groups visiting *Linka* resources and tourist groups experiencing rurality in the town (see Table 5.12). Analysis of the data indicated that individual city people were preferred far more than groups organized by working units. This preference is consistent with their strong preferences for community-based development, which is targeted at individual city people. In the next 5-10 years, the suburban young hosts strongly hoped that more long-distant tourists (the inland Han people and foreigners) would visit their community.

Table 5. 12: Preferences for tourist groups for the tourism attraction assets

Tourist groups Tourism Assets	Individual city people (N;%*)	Group city people (N;%)	Inland Han People (N;%)	Foreigners (N;%)
<i>Linka</i> resources	29 /30.9%	11/11.7%	26/27.7%	22/23.4%
Rurality in the town	25/26.6%	11/11.7%	30/31.9%	21/22.3%

* Percentages refer to the row

5.5.2.3 Summary of the suburban youth gaze towards tourists

Based on what they saw and experienced in their daily life, the suburban Tibetan youth had distinctive representations of tourists, the target customers of their tourism assets. The young respondents thought that tourists were “city people” from the urban area and nearby counties. Tourists were similar to them. Tourists were perceived as enjoying the slow life style that was offered in their community. They further classified tourists into individual city people, group city people, inland Han people and foreigners. They showed similar preferences for specific groups of tourists in visiting the two sets of tourism assets. However, within the tourist groups, they

preferred the individual city people, rather than the group ones. Meanwhile, they were keen to attract some long-distant tourists from inland China and overseas.

5.5.4 Tourism as a livelihood choice

This section explores the suburban young hosts' representations of their current livelihoods and their aspirations for incorporating tourism as one of their livelihoods choices in the near future. In this section the understanding of the voices of the Tibetan youth is explored in a more quantitative style by considering the responses to the structured questionnaire material.

5.5.4.1 Current livelihoods choice in Caigongtang Town

Major income sources were assessed through the focus groups. These sources were agriculture (vegetable and barley growing), animal husbandry (yak and sheep), mining, casual jobs in cities, transportation, handcraft making, and service industry. The survey results do suggested that the leading income sources in Caigongtang Town were: agriculture, casual jobs in cities and animal husbandry. Half of the respondents suggested that they or their family were dependent on agriculture. Tourism, though emerging, only played a minor role in the community.

5.5.4.2 Representations of tourism as a future livelihoods choice

(1) Four sub-representations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice

Hierarchical cluster analysis was undertaken to classify sub-groups that had similar perceptions towards tourism as a future livelihoods choice. The methodology of this technique, as well as discriminant analysis which will be adopted in the following section has been detailed in 4.4.4.

Questions about tourism's role in their future livelihoods portfolio, preferred roles of tourism, willingness to work in the tourism industry, and anticipation of tourism futures in the next 5-10 years were employed as clustering variables. Those who chose 'not sure' to any of these questions were omitted as missing values. As a result,

90 out of 94 cases were considered valid. Based on the sample size and previous research experience, this study considered a stepwise methodology from four to two clusters.

Table 5.13 shows the percentage of representativeness in each cluster (I, II, III, IV), starting from a four cluster analysis to a two cluster analysis. It seems that all the clusters worked at first sight, since there was not any minority group accounting for less than 10% of the sample. Carefully checking the complex data, this study chose to focus on a four cluster solution. This direction was based on examining the subtle understanding of the responses to this part of the survey.

Table 5. 13: Percentage of sample within each livelihoods cluster

Clusters	4 (N;%)	3 (N;%)	2 (N;%)
I	45/50.0%	45/50.0%	61/67.7 %
II	12/13.3%	29/33.3%	29/33.3%
III	17/19.0%	16/17.7%	–
IV	16/17.7%	–	–

An analysis was made of the four different clusters, examining the answers given within each cluster and the answers of the remaining groups. Table 5.14 presents the main characteristic of the perceptions of tourism livelihoods for each cluster.

Table 5. 14: Main characteristics of the tourism livelihoods groups

Cluster (N/%)	Tourism's role in the livelihoods portfolio	Preferred roles of tourism in the community's future	Work in tourism	The state of tourism futures
I (45/50.0%)	Supplementary roles	Moderately more tourism	Willing	Good
II (12/13.3%)	Supplementary roles	Control, less tourism	Not willing	Good
III (17/19.0%)	Minor roles	Moderately more tourism	Not willing	Good or neutral
IV (16/17.7%)	Major roles	Substantially more tourism	Highly willing	Very good

According to their characteristics, these four livelihoods groups are labelled as “Moderate supporters”, “Personally disengaged controllers”, “Community-oriented supporters” and “Extreme enthusiasts”. Further information about these livelihoods groups is presented below.

Sub-group I: Moderate supporters (Tourism is a moderate livelihood choice)

This is the largest sub-group, containing half of the research respondents (45 out of 90). Respondents in this sub-group demonstrated moderate attitudes to all the attributes. It is highly consistent with the one of the golden rules proposed by Confucianism and Buddhism in Chinese culture: to act with moderation. They thought that tourism would play some roles in their income systems. They supported moderate tourism development in the community. They were willing to take some tourism jobs. And they held a positive attitude towards tourism's future in the community. A typical statement is:

“I have some interactions with the city people in the resort. I guess the arrival of them is good for us. But the number matters. My family will think about setting up a Tibetan inn/restaurant when the number is large enough (C-FG-1, 2010).”

Sub-group II: Personally disengaged controllers (Tourism is good and important, but ...)

Twelve respondents fell into this subgroup. They were labelled as personally disengaged controllers. They are different from “*Haters*” identified in other studies (Evans, 1993; Fredline & Faulkner, 2003). They were positive about tourism’s futures, and they realized that tourism might play supplementary roles in their livelihoods portfolio. They, however, were not willing to work in the tourism industry in the future. They were also the only group who strongly advocated that the future roles of tourism in the community should be decreased or at most kept at the present level. Typical concerns include:

“I think that the emerging tourism has already brought some benefits to our town. I personally welcome them. Meanwhile, I’m also worried. What if thousands of tourists arrive like the urban area? I preferred controlled development (C-FG-1, 2010).”

“Due to our location and scenery, I guess more people will come. I notice one side effect of these city people. The children and young generation begin to imitate their lifestyles and try to migrate into cities. I mean, we have plenty of opportunities in our town, which are awaiting exploration. Well, that is also part of the reason why I study agriculture in the college. I believe we can perform better in continuing to be an agriculture base for the urban area (C-FG-2, 2010).

Sub-group III: Community-oriented supporters (Tourism is good for the community and others)

This sub-group was made up of 17 Tibetan youth. Their response patterns were quite distinctive. They did not expect tourism to play a big role at their personal level, and they were not interested in taking tourism jobs either. However, as distinct from the

personally disengaged controllers, they supported more development at the community level, because “tourism is a showcase of their culture (C-FG-1, 2010),” and also because “tourism can bring more income and be a livelihoods choice for some people in the community (C-FG-2, 2010).”

Sub-group IV: Extreme enthusiasts (Tourism is a fantastic livelihoods choice)

The final cluster, sub-group IV, contained 16 respondents, who were very enthusiastic about tourism development at both a personal and community level. “I think tourism is terrific. Look at our urban area, the facilities have improved a lot because of tourists’ needs. I guess the same will occur in our town. If more tourists come, our road connection will be improved (C-FG-1, 2010). Generally, this group looked forward to dramatic tourism development in the near future. They further believed that tourism would be one of their livelihoods choices. For example, a participant in the second focus group noted that: “my dad is a tourist bus driver in the city. He seems very happy interacting with different people. He is also keen to entertain tourists in our hometown. I guess tourism income will keep being one of our major income sources in the future. I’m happy to see more people visiting our village as well.” In this group’s view, tourism would have a bright future in their community, and they were more than happy to take tourism jobs as a career.

(2) Determining variables of the sub-groups

Using the group classification as a key dependent variable, this section employed discriminant analysis to explore which factor better predicted the group classification. Table 5.15 contains the results for the discriminant functions. With an eigenvalue of 7.29, function 1 accounted for 88.1% of the explained variance. The chi-square test ($\chi^2=238.36$, $p<0.01$) indicated that the overall separation of groups achieved by discriminant function 1 was satisfactory.

Table 5. 15: Tests of significance of the discriminant functions level of tourism as a livelihoods choice

Function	Eigenvalue	Variance (%)	Canonical Correlation	Wilks' Lambda	Chi-square	Sig.
1	7.29 ^a	88.1	.94	.061	238.36	.000
2	.99 ^a	11.9	.71	.502	58.55	.000
3	.02 ^a	.0	.05	.998	.21	.900

a. First 3 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.

In determining which predictor variable contributes the most to function 1, this study assessed the discriminant function coefficients and loadings (see Table 5.18). The examination suggested that “the willingness to take tourism jobs” was the most important predictor in discriminating among the sub-groups, followed by “preferred roles of tourism”, “tourism’s role in the future livelihoods portfolio”, and “the anticipation of the state of tourism futures”. This finding was further supported by the examination of the discriminant loadings and the unstandardized discrimination function coefficients (see Table 5.16).

Table 5. 16: Canonical discriminant function 1 coefficients and loadings

Variables	Unstandardized coefficients	Standardized coefficients	Discriminant loadings
Tourism’s role in the future livelihoods portfolio	.08	.04	.24
Preferred roles of tourism in the community	1.26	.56	.58
Willingness to work in tourism industry	2.59	.80	.83
Anticipation of the state of tourism futures	.06	.04	.13
(Constant)	-8.37	N/A	N/A

The group centroids, which give the value of the discriminant function evaluated at the group means, were also identified. *Personally disengaged controllers* and *community-orientated supporters* had positive values of 3.96 and 2.94 respectively, whereas *Moderate supporters* and *Extreme enthusiasts* had negative values (-.79 and -4.33 respectively). From the fact that the signs of the coefficients associated with all the predictors were positive (see Table 5. 18), it can be suggested that the more positive of the four variables were the more likely to result in a higher level of support.

5.4.4.3 Profiles of Sub-groups on tourism as a livelihoods choice

In this section, the profiles of the four sub-groups were examined by cross-tabulation analysis with the *Chi square test*. The *Chi square* statistic revealed that only the length of residence ($df=9, \chi^2=18.54, p<.05$) and contacts with tourists ($df=9, \chi^2=17.46, p<.05$) were significantly related to sub-group identification. Table 5.17 lists the cross tabulation analysis of these two variables and the four identified livelihoods groups.

**Table 5. 17: Cross tabulation profiles of tourism livelihoods sub-groups
(Caigongtang Town)**

Profiles	Categories	<i>Moderate supporters</i> (N=45)	<i>Personally disengaged controllers</i> (N=12)	<i>Community-orientated supporters</i> (N=17)	<i>Extreme enthusiasts</i> (N=16)
Length of residence	1-2 years (N=16)	8(17.7%)	1(0.8%)	5(29.4%)	2(12.5%)
	3-5 years (N=13)	8(17.7%)	3(25.0%)	1(5.9%)	1(6.3%)
	6-9 years (N=16)	6(13.3%)	1(8.3%)	0	9(56.2%)
	10 years + (N=45)	23(51.1%)	7(58.4%)	11(64.7%)	4(25.0%)
Contacts with tourists	Always (N=5)	0	0	1(5.9%)	4(25.0%)
	Often (N=16)	9(20.0%)	5(41.7%)	1(5.9%)	1(6.3%)
	Sometimes (N=49)	26(57.8%)	4(33.3%)	8(47.1%)	11(68.7%)
	Seldom (N=20)	10(22.2%)	3(25.0%)	7(41.1%)	0

The *moderate supporters* tended to have lived in the community longer than other groups. They had some contacts with tourists, and thus may understand the benefits and costs of tourism a bit, but not deeply. As a result, they chose to be moderate.

The *personally disengaged controllers* had a mix level of contacts with tourists. Due to different representations of tourism and personal interests, they chose to be personally disengaged.

The third sub-group, the *community-orientated supporters*, were the least familiar with tourists with the least contact, and were in the community for a long time. It seemed they were not interested in tourism at the current point in time, and would not be interested in tourism in the future. However, they thought that tourism was good for the community.

The final group, the *extreme enthusiasts*, had been in the community for a considerable period of time. Some of them were in the tourism industry, while others only had limited tourism contacts. The *extreme enthusiasts* had a diverse background, but they showed a common and substantial interest in developing tourism in the community and working in the industry. They were also very positive about tourism in the future.

The analysis in this section, once again, highlighted the weakness of depending on demographic information in understanding a society. Psychological factors, proved to be, and were able to indicate the heterogeneous nature of the society.

5.5.4.4 Summary of tourism as a livelihoods choice

The current livelihoods portfolio in Caigongtang Town was relatively homogeneous. More than half the young respondents suggested that they or their family's major income source was agriculture.

In the face of the emerging tourism phenomenon, they realized the potential to incorporate it into their livelihoods portfolio. Due to different backgrounds, these Tibetan suburban youth fell into four sub-groups in viewing tourism as a livelihood

choice in the next 5-10 years. These four groups were labelled as “*moderate supporters*”, “*personally disengaged controllers*”, “*community-orientated supporters*” and “*extreme enthusiasts*”. The factor that most powerfully determined their representations was their willingness to take tourism jobs or not, and this factor was significantly related to the length of their residence and the level of contact with tourists.

5.5.3 Other assets, contextual issues and development

In addition to tourism assets identified in the previous section, suburb Tibetan youth considered other assets and contextual issues necessary for tourism development in their community. Analysis of economic, human, and social assets, as well as the vulnerability and PIP (policy, institution, and process) issues helps understand local tourism in a holistic way.

The findings presented in this section were mainly from the focus groups analysis. The value of concentrating on focus groups material in this supplementary study lies in the particularly rich and insightful views obtained. The questionnaire based material while of value is less specific in terms of contextual and unique issues revealed in the focus group format.

5.5.3.1 Economic assets and tourism development

In the suburban site, the main economic assets suggested by the young hosts were the newly built residential houses, the savings their family had, the hospitality facilities in the community, the improved road connection with the urban area and other public infrastructures.

In a recent Chinese national wide “New Countryside Construction” Campaign, Tibet has been an important beneficiary. Since 2006, Tibetans in the suburban and rural areas have been encouraged to build new residences or rebuild on their previous premise through a substantial cash incentives from the local government. As a result, new Tibetan style houses, which are a combination of Tibetan culture and modernity,

have emerged in the town (see Figure 5.7). “Our house is very spacious. We have an extra floor and halls. They can be turned into a restaurant or a tea house, and even guest rooms. We can serve city people with free range chicken, organic vegetables, home-made butter tea and other traditional snacks (C-FG-1, 2010).”



Figure 5. 8: New residential houses in Caigongtang Town

Source: Photographs from the photo–elicitation interviewees and the author, used with permission

The public infrastructure in the region has been another focus of interest. Notable improvements include the sealing of major roads, the establishment of clinics and public toilets, as well as additional telecommunication service. However, concerns were still common, especially on the adequacy of the road connections within the community (see Figure 5.8). “You know, it is very dry in this region. The unsealed road is very dusty in sunny days and very muddy in the wet season. It is an extremely unpleasant experience when a motor vehicle passes by. Some of my friends from other regions are not used to the strong sunshine here. When they visited our *Linka* park in a sunny afternoon, they described the bus tour as a disaster (C-FG-2, 2010).”



Figure 5. 9: The road situation in Caigongtang Town

Source: Photographs from the photo–elicitation interviewees and the author, used with permission

There is also room to improve the public transportation connections. There are only a few mini buses passing Caigongtang Town, which could drop people at the closest roadside point. It then takes 10-20 mins walking to reach the households. There is a bus connecting Lhasa Urban Centre with the *Linka* Parks, however, only two runs are available daily, once in the morning, and once in the evening. As a result, local Tibetans use motorbikes and tricycles (see Figure 5.9). “We hope there will be more bus connections with the village. Five to six runs per day will be good. You know, travelling by bus is economical, and also saves parking problems. It is good for individual citizens, especially the young students and old citizens (C-FG- 2, 2010).”



Figure 5. 10: The bus service in Caigongtang Town

Source: Photographs from the photo–elicitation interviewees and the author, used with permission

In addition, the young participants mentioned that they would like to have more credit access opportunities. They identified that the most common source of financial assets

were their family savings, livestock, houses, and other fixed assets. “It is fairly hard to get a loan from local banks. The application procedure is complex and time consuming. More importantly, a lot of villagers are not aware of this opportunity, or take this opportunity as their last choice (C-FG-2, 2010).” If the micro loans were available and easy accessed to the villagers in the near future, more tourism related business might be set up.

5.5.3.2 Human assets and tourism development

In the suburban Tibetan youth’s views, their community was not short of human assets for future tourism development. Typical statements include,

“We have very supportive families. If we run some tourism business, my families will absolutely support me by offering voluntary work. More importantly, they can serve different roles. For example, my mom is good at making traditional snacks; my sisters are good at communicating (C-FG-1, 2010).”

“Compared with the old generation, we are educated and good at learning skills. We can attend the free skill training offered by the local government and learn how to understand and entertain city people (C-I-1, 2010).”

“We respect the old generation in our community. They know our cultures very well, and are always happy to share with others. They also master the traditional hand craft making skills and musical performance. They are important people in the community (C-FG-2, 2010).”

In summary, the local youth suggested that they had sufficient supply of labour, learning and training opportunities, the younger generation was enthusiastic and older generation was knowledgeable. Together, these human assets were seen as forming a solid base for future tourism development in the community.

5.5.3.3 Social assets and tourism development

The suburban young hosts identified several social assets in their community. The most cited ones were the supportive family, the cohesiveness in the community, the informal institutions, and networking with the outside world.

Support from the family and neighbours are essential within a local community. “It seems a tradition for us. For example, when we built the new house, our neighbours generously offered their help. Now, we are offering back in return. ... We do not have much savings. It is fairly common to borrow money from relatives and neighbours. We trust each other. I guess, the same kind of mutual support will emerge when we are involved in tourism (C-FG-1, 2010).”

At a broader level, the community was cohesive. The view existed that most of the villagers would respond to collective activities that were good for the community. Examples included taking turns to work in the community *Linka* Resort, building community facilities together, holding cultural festivals annually, and helping the disadvantaged in the community.

There were some informal institutions in the community that were influential in organizing events. For example, the Senior Association is very prestigious in the community. The Tibetan dance performance team is well-acknowledged among the young generation. Local schools are also influential in some ways. Their importance is related to Tibetans’ appreciation of learning and knowledge.

In addition, networking with the outside world is critical. The main concern that the local youth had was the connection with the market. “There are plenty of competitors around, who offer similar resources. If we have the access to the market, business would be much easier (C-FG-1, 2010).” “For example, if you have relatives or friends working in the travel agency, they can send tourists to your place. If you get on well with your customers, they will come back or at least make positive recommendation to their friends (C-FG- 2, 2010).”

5.5.3.4 Vulnerable contexts and tourism development

The suburban youth's understanding of vulnerability contexts mainly focussed on shocks, which can be classified into two categories at different levels. At the micro level a shock is something that is unexpected and uncontrollable in the family. For example, illness, and sometimes death severely disrupts ordinary life. Other examples include theft, fire, and bankruptcy of one's business. All cause suffering and the recovery time is extensive.

The other level focuses more on the macro issues that the whole community faces. The issues here are mainly natural disasters. For example, the mountain slides in the rainy season, which can destroy residential houses, kill people, and block the traffic, are phenomenon and natural processes to fear.

The leading concern about stability in the Old Town seemed not applicable in the suburban context. "We mainly cater for city people from nearby. The tourists for the urban area, are Han people and foreigners, of course, they will be affected or even destroyed by the political riots. But not us, our business is fairly stable at these special times. Sometimes, even better, because the city people choose not to visit other cities, but spend time in and around their place (C-FG-1, 2010)."

The researcher prompted a discussion on trends and seasonality. In terms of trends, they realized that there are similar types of resources offered in the neighbouring communities, who act as their (potential) competitors. They were not passive about their own actions and emphasised the progress they had made in term of facilities and service.

Concerning seasonality, the suburban youth agreed closely with each other. One of the focus group participants suggested, "We have always been in this model of seasonality since the day we catered for city people. Besides, it is in line with our traditional way of recreation, concentrating from spring to autumn. I don't bother to think about its reasonableness (C-FG-2, 2010)." Indeed, tourism in Caigongtang Town is derived from Tibetan's traditional recreation style, which historically

embraces seasonality. Thus, to the suburban youth, seasonality seemed to be a neutral phenomenon, neither positive nor negative. It was just part of their lifestyle.

5.5.3.5 Policy, institution and process (PIP) factors and tourism development

It is argued that understanding of policies, institution and process (PIP) issues allows the identification of restriction/barriers and opportunities (or the 'gateway) to sustainable livelihoods (Scoones, 1998). Tibetan youth in this suburban town had clear knowledge of how some PIP issues enhanced their competitiveness in the market.

The advantages raised by PIP issues are essentially financial and human assets. "Every village or town in Lhasa has its sister organization in Lhasa Urban Centre, either regional level or city level. Some of them are very supportive and powerful. Hence, some village win precious financial and human support through the assistance from their sister organizations, and then gain the advantage of development (C-FG-2, 2010)." "Yes, the tourism in Niangre town (a neighbouring Town) grows a lot, because their sister organization, Tibet television broadcast them a lot. That is free, at least low cost, but very effective promotion (C-FG-2, 2010)."

The young hosts suggested that PIP issues were also closely related to the government planning at the township level or the city level. "If your village was listed with a high priority for future regional development, it will definitely get more all-inclusive support from local government (C-FG-2, 2010)." In a resource limited society, being chosen as a development model means a lot to a community. Meanwhile, at the household and personal level, "if you were lucky enough to be selected as the development model in your village, you are taking a short cut to being rich (C-FG-1, 2010)."

Another subtle perspective about PIP issues was the family's roles in the political system. "If you serve as the community leader, you will definitely be more exposed to different sources of information and development opportunities. ... Sometimes, if one

of your family members served in the government, the family members in the village will have some invisible privileges (C-FG-1, 2010).”

5.5.3.6 Summary of other development assets and contextual issues

The young hosts in Caigongtang Town had their own understanding towards economic, human and social assets for tourism development. They considered that there was a lack of good transportation connections, transportation services and an inadequate diversity of credit access. They were proud of their community’s human assets and social assets, and believed that, once these assets were well arranged and used, they could offer more for tourists and had good development options for the future.

The young hosts understood both the micro and macro level of vulnerability contexts that affected their livelihood activities. They also had a good knowledge of the PIP issues that were mostly out of their control, but strongly affected both the community development and their household well-being.

Their understandings, as revealed in some detail through the focus groups studies, seemed quite different to that of their urban peers’ understanding in the Old Town of Lhasa. Their understanding of development assets and contextual issues deeply mirrored the environment in which they were located.

5.5.5 Sustainable tourism livelihood outcomes: IPA analysis

In the focus groups section, the expected tourism outcomes were discussed. Nine of the most frequently discussed attributes were elicited and surveyed during the questionnaire session. This section of the chapter presents how these attributes were assessed in terms of importance and expected performance in the near future. IPA analysis was adopted, and implications will be discussed.

5.5.5.1 Overall statistics about the tourism outcomes attributes

Questions such as, what are the expected outcomes from local tourism development? And how do you define good tourism in the community? were discussed during the two focus groups. Nine attributes were elicited from these discussions. These attributes covered different aspects of life at the suburban site. The concerns were the infrastructure within the community, e.g. they looked forward to improvements to the road system; and they hoped that more hospitality and entertainment facilities could be set up. In addition, the young hosts anticipated some improvement and increases to their economic assets (financial and physical), to human assets and to social assets through tourism involvement. Further, they suggested that the city people's experience and satisfaction should be considered. These outcome aspirations, coincidentally, match closely Chambers and Conway's (1991) definition about sustainable livelihoods. The full list of these expected outcomes can be seen in Table 5.18, which also offers the overall assessment of these attributes.

All the attributes were measured at five-point Likert type scale. From the descriptive analysis, they were all perceived as somewhere between important and very important. Further, the young hosts in the suburban town were positive towards these outcomes. They predicted that all these issues would eventuate in the near future. Detailed analysis of these attributes is presented in the following section.

Table 5. 18: IPA analysis and the sustainable tourism outcomes

No.	Attributes content	Importance (\bar{X} ; S.D.)	Expected Performance (\bar{X} ; S.D.)	$\bar{X}_{(E-Performance)}$ - $\bar{X}_{Importance}$
1	Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. the road will be sealed	1.23(.52)	1.38(.55)	.15
2	More fun in the community, with more hospitality and entertaining facilities	1.62(.88)	1.92(.101)	.30
3	We benefit from tourism, and will be richer, with more disposable income	1.77 (1.07)	1.95 (1.04)	.18
4	Maintains and even improves the environment, e.g. the <i>Linka</i> resources	1.62 (1.16)	1.82 (1.07)	.20
5	Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected	1.43 (1.04)	1.67 (.99)	.24
6	Community participate in tourism development (e.g. decision making, job)	1.81(1.29)	2.00 (1.17)	.19
7	Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with skills and good qualities	1.67 (1.07)	1.81 (1.11)	.14
8	More people know Caigongtang, and would like to visit us	1.69 (1.13)	1.77 (.99)	.09
9	City people enjoy our community and are happy to come back	1.56 (1.11)	1.70 (1.01)	.14

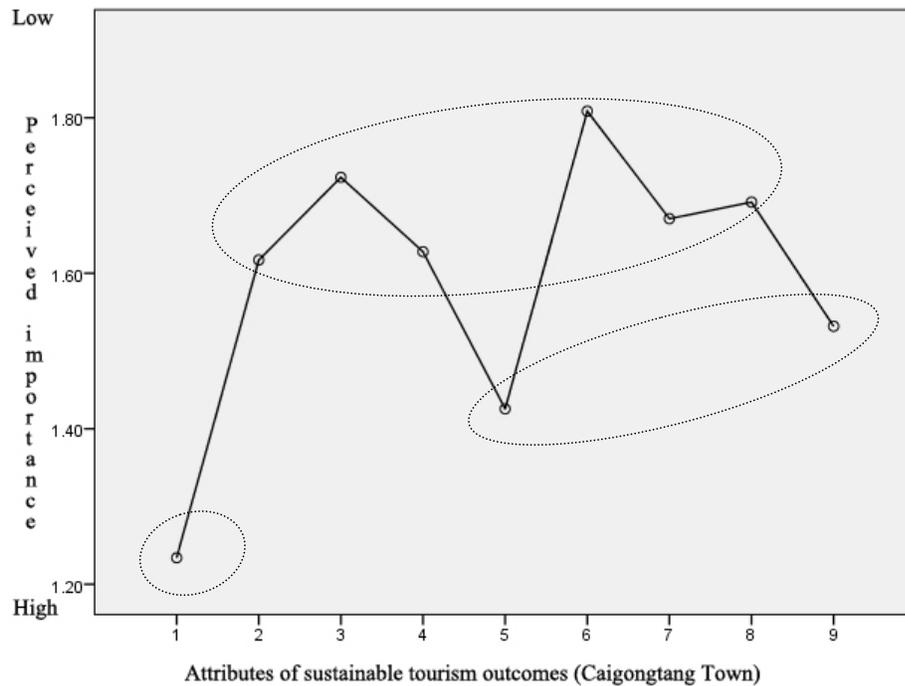
Scale: In terms of importance, 1=very important, 5= not important at all.

In terms of expected performance, number 1= will definitely come true, 5= will never come true.

5.5.5.2 Perceptions of importance of the outcome attributes

Table 5.18 indicated that all the nine attributes were perceived as important. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA was conducted in this section to test whether or not some of the attributes were considered significantly more important than others. The Mauchly's Test of Sphericity ($p=.000$) and the tests of within subjects effects ($F=5.01$, $p=.003$, $\eta_p^2 =.051$) identified that there were significant differences among the perceived importance of these attributes. The following *Pairwise comparisons* revealed that attribute 1 on public infrastructure was perceived significantly more important than the other eight attributes.

Meanwhile, attribute 5 on the appreciation and protection of local culture and customs, and attribute 9 on customers' (city people's) satisfaction were perceived as of medium importance, falling in between the very important infrastructure issues and the rest of the attributes. Figure 5.10 offers a visual presentation of the importance values.



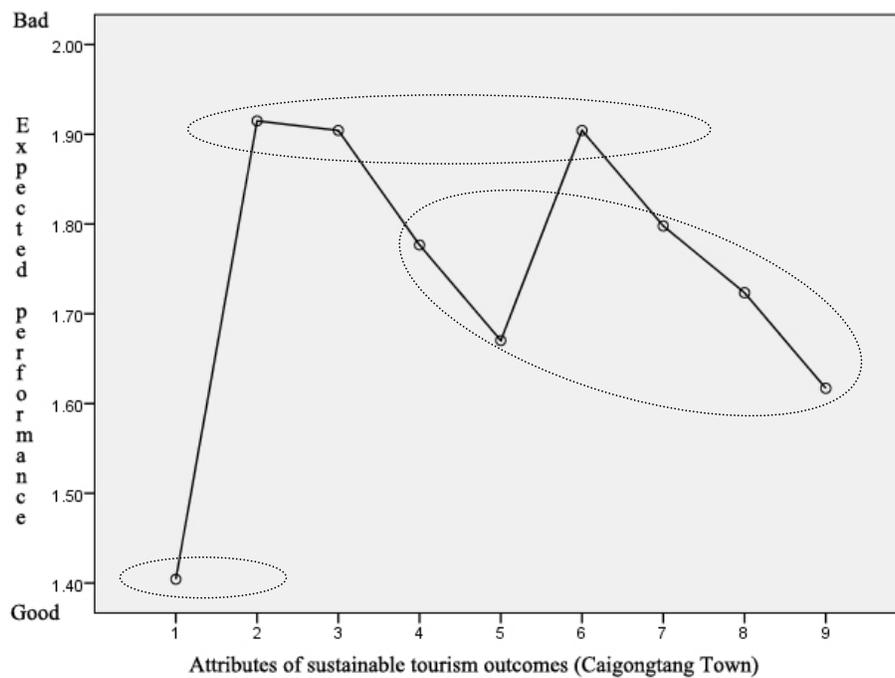
The meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes (Caigongtang)		
1. Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. sealed roads	2. More hospitality and entertaining facilities	3. We benefit from tourism, and will be richer
4. Maintains and even improves the environment	5. Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected	6. Community participate in tourism development
7. Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with good qualities	8. More people would like to visit us in Caigongtang	9. City people enjoy their trip and are happy to come back

Figure 5. 11: Perceptions of importance of the outcomes attributes (Caigongtang Town)

4.4.5.3 Perceptions of expected performance of the outcome attributes

In terms of expected performance, the respondents in this study were quite positive. The means of nine attributes were all smaller than 2 (represents that this attribute “will come true”). The Mauchly's Test of Sphericity ($p=.001$) and tests of within-subjects effects ($F=4.64$, $p=.003$, $\eta_p^2=.048$) in repeated measures one-way ANOVA indicated

that there were significant differences among the expected performance of the nine attributes. Facilitated by post hoc analysis (through multiple pairwise comparisons), it was found that the most positive scores were given to attribute 1 on public infrastructure. Attribute 2 on the provision of hospitality and entertaining facilities, attribute 3 on local economic benefits, and attribute 6 on community participation, were the terms that were the least expected. The rest of the attributes were expected to perform somewhere in between the above mentioned two groups of attributes. Figure 5.11 below, incorporating the post hoc analysis results, presents the distribution and classifications of the nine outcomes attributes.

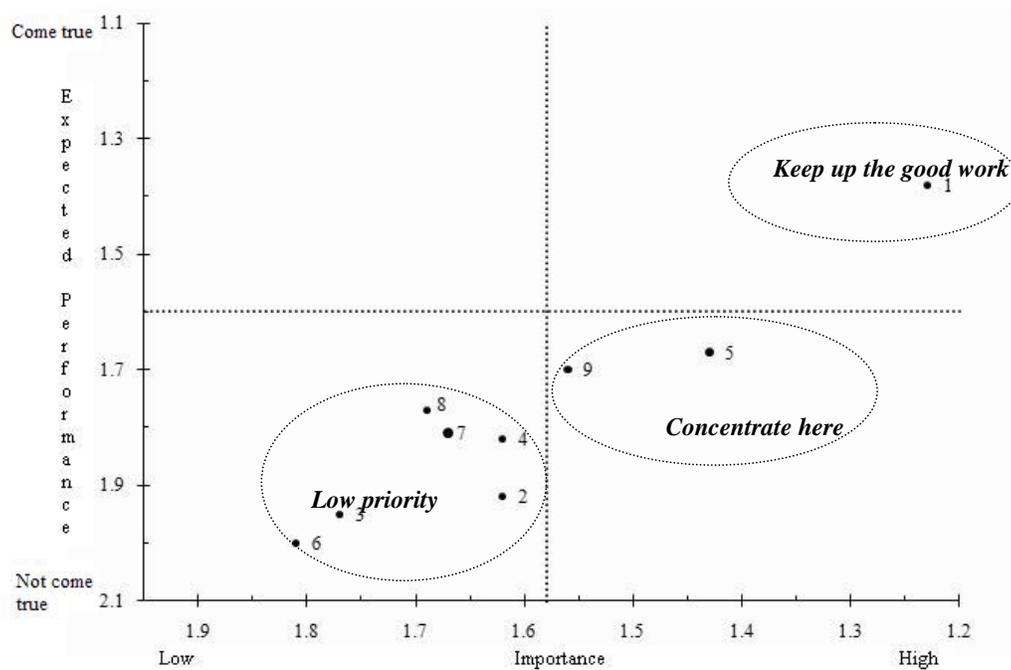


The meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes (Caigongtang)		
1. Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. sealed roads	2. More hospitality and entertaining facilities	3. We benefit from tourism, and will be richer
4. Maintains and even improves the environment	5. Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected	6. Community participate in tourism development
7. Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with good qualities	8. More people would like to visit us in Caigongtang	9. City people enjoy their trip and are happy to come back

Figure 5. 12: Perceptions of expected performance on the outcomes attributes (Caigongtang Town)

4.4.5.4 IPA analysis of the outcomes attributes and implications

Based on the importance and expected performance analysis conducted above, importance- performance analysis (IPA) was employed subsequently, resulting in a concise quadrant (see Figure 5.13). The arithmetic means of the expected performance scores were depicted along the vertical axis of a two dimension grid, and the means of importance scores were situated along the horizontal axis. The confirmation of the cross line considered the repeated measures one way ANOVA conducted above to ensure that scores for the discussion were significantly differently. As a result, $P=1.6$ and $I=1.58$ were used to divide the grid into four quadrants (as shown in Figure 5.12). The methodological issues concerning why these meaningful scores were adopted rather than the mean scores have been explained in the tourism outcomes section in Chapter 4.



The meanings of attributes 1-9 for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes (Caigongtang)		
1. Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. sealed roads	2. More hospitality and entertaining facilities	3. We benefit from tourism, and will be richer
4. Maintains and even improves the environment	5. Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected	6. Community participate in tourism development
7. Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with good qualities	8. More people would like to visit us in Caigongtang	9. City people enjoy their trip and are happy to come back

Figure 5. 13: IPA analysis of the tourism outcomes attributes (Caigongtang Town)

The attributes that local youth perceived as priorities were those which were considered very important, but performed below average or close to average. In Caigongtang Town's scenario, these issues include attribute 5 on the appreciation and protection of local culture and customs, and attribute 9 on customers' (city people's) satisfaction. In the future, these two attributes deserve special attention.

Typical concerns about these two attributes during the focus groups include:

“Villagers would like to live a modern life like city people. It is always easy to copy the physical issues, for example, building modern houses and buying electronics. I'm wondering if we were a microcosm of the city, city people may stop visiting our villages. Pursuit of modern and good life should always be encouraged, however, it should not be to the sacrifice of our culture and customs. I do hope there is an approach that these two issues can go hand in hand (C-FG-1, 2010).”

“City people visited our village to relax and to have some fun. I do hope they will enjoy their short stay here. Otherwise, they won't come back again, and some may also spread negative images about us. I do think their satisfaction matters a lot to us, and we have a lot to improve (C-FG-1, 2010).”

In addition, attribute 1 on the improvement of public infrastructure should not be neglected. As explained in last chapter, this thesis only measured the attributes' expected performance, rather than the real performance. The supply of good public infrastructure, especially the sealed roads, was the attribute that the young host valued most. It was perceived as significantly more important than the rest of the attributes. The young research respondents, no matter whether they were in the photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups, or face-to-face questionnaire surveys, frequently expressed their eagerness in having good road connections with the urban area and within the community. This factor is a key future prospect for these respondents. Though mostly positive about its future, it does not mean that this development will definitely materialise. The more they expected this outcome, the more disappointed they will be if they are turned down. So in this sense, future development should extend its priority

to the “keep up the good work” attributes, that is the “Improvement of public infrastructures (e.g. the road will be sealed)” in this study.

The rest of the attributes, which were in the traditional “low priority” quadrant, should not be ignored either. These attributes were directly related to the reinvestment of the economic assets (attribute 3 on financial assets and attribute 2 & 5 on physical assets), human assets (attribute 7), and social and political assets (attribute 6). The availability of the reinvestment will directly influence whether tourism as a sustainable livelihoods choice will be sustained or not (Chambers & Conway, 1991).

5.4.5.5 Summary of sustainable tourism outcomes

The young hosts in this study suggested nine important attributes that they would like to see in the future. It was found that these nine attributes were highly relevant to the reinvestment of different assets in the SL framework. Whether these attributes are achieved or not may directly affect whether or not tourism can be sustained in the community.

IPA analysis of these attributes revealed that the young hosts were fairly positive about tourism development in their community. The analysis indicated that future tourism development should pay the most attention to the protection and appreciation of local culture and customs, customers’ (city people’s) satisfaction, and the improvement of public infrastructure (especially that the roads will be sealed).

5.6 Summary of the Suburban Site Study

The chapter focused on Caigongtang Town, a suburban site in Lhasa, Tibet. By adopting the same research conceptual scheme and research methods, this chapter acts as a complementary study. It enriches our understanding of tourism, tourism and livelihoods, and youth aspirations in a different social economic context.

The young hosts in this suburban site identified two sets of tourism assets in their community that had the potential to attract tourists, notably and principally, city people. These assets were *Linka* resources and the rurality of the town. The young

generation had clear preferences for the development styles of these tourism assets. They strongly preferred the endogenous development approach rather than be dependent on outside investors.

The young hosts in the suburban town also had a clear knowledge of their assets base for tourism development, especially the strength and shortage of their economic assets, human assets, and social assets. They further expressed their aspirations for the change, outcomes and opportunities brought by tourism, which reflected their concerns with their assets base. These aspirations included the maintenance of their tourism assets; an increase in economic assets, and the enhancement of their capacities. These aspirations of the young “Post 80s” group in the region reinforced the perspective that the SL framework is an ongoing process, rather than a stable approach. It is the reinvestment from current livelihoods that makes the specific livelihoods sustainable.

To better understand how tourism and livelihoods are linked in the remote context of Lhasa, a comparison of the findings from the Old Town site and the suburban site may be able to provide a fuller picture of the mechanisms why tourism and its future are perceived and aspired to in a specific way. This kind of synthesis will be offered in the last chapter of the thesis.

Chapter 6 –Synthesis and Conclusion

Chapter Structure

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6.5 Limitations of this Study and Areas for Future Research

6.5.1 Limitations

6.5.2 Areas for future research

6.6 Conclusion of the Study

6.1 Introduction

There are four emphases in this final chapter. Firstly it synthesizes the major research chapters of the thesis by offering comparisons across studies. The comparisons are presented in a way that is consistent with the overall research aims of this thesis. In particular, the profiles of the research respondents, their assessment of tourism assets, their gaze on tourists, their perceptions of development assets and contextual issues, their preferences for tourism as a future livelihoods choice under the broader livelihoods portfolios, and their aspirations for tourism outcomes are compared.

Secondly, this study partially meets Jafari's (2005) call for tourism research to move to a "public outreach" platform. In this context, some implications at both a theoretical and practical level are presented. These summary points also serve to present the achievements of the thesis and link to previous studies in related areas. These major achievements are at the research approach and methods level, at a theoretical and conceptual level, and at the applied level.

Thirdly, and prior to a final conclusion, three major limitations of the studies in this thesis are examined and suggestions to improve future work are proposed. Some of strategies to overcome the limitations can be applied to a wider context. As a fourth and final direction, five areas of future research which can be developed from the current studies are presented. These five areas, from different perspectives, have the potential to enrich our understanding of tourism and community relationships, especially tourism and livelihoods enhancement, in a more dynamic and complete way. Concise outlines for these future studies are presented.

6.2 Aims of this study

This final chapter addresses aims 3, 4 and 5 of this thesis. They are:

Aim 3: To compare "Post 80s" Tibetan youth' perceptions towards tourism and its futures across two study sites in Lhasa, Tibet which differ in socioeconomic background and degrees of tourism exposure.

Aim 4: To extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and emic approach in a non-western context.

Aim 5: To identify future possibilities and research directions in adopting tourism as a livelihoods strategy and regional development.

These specific aims will be explored in the next three sections respectively, with a section corresponding to each aim. An additional section considers the limitations and scope of the work which was conducted.

6.3 Synthesis: A comparative perspective

A comparative approach not only highlights the key findings of this study but also connects the findings with specific contexts that are essential to understand tourism as a social phenomenon. This section considered the major findings for the urban site and the suburban site in Lhasa. The profiles of the research respondents in each study site are incorporated as well, because they help better understand the research findings. Other points of comparison are based on the components of the adjusted SL framework. In addition, this section connects and compares the research results with previous studies.

6.3.1 Research respondents

At both the urban and the suburban study site, three research methods - photo-elicitation interviews, focus groups, and questionnaire surveys - were employed in a sequence. The concise comparisons of the two sites were presented in 2.4.1.3. For each specific site, the demographic profile of the research respondents was similar for each method. However, differences were identified between the research respondents in the urban site and suburban site. Table 6.1 demonstrates some differences by taking the questionnaire survey as an example.

Table 6. 1: Demographic profile: A comparative view

Comparative items	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban site)	Caigongtang Town (suburban site)
Ethnicity	Half indigenous Tibetan youth; Half migrant Tibetan youth	All indigenous Tibetan youth
Gender	Slightly more male respondents	Many more female respondents (62.8%)
Age group	Slightly more younger group	Slightly younger group (81.9%)
Education background	Two thirds with higher education	The majority with high school education or less
Religious belief	Nearly half of them were not linked to religious beliefs	The majority believed in a religion
Contacts with tourists	A variety of contact experiences	Similar level of contact to the urban youth
Benefits from tourism	A variety of benefits were recorded	Widely and directly benefitted due to the community owned resort

As Table 6.1 indicates, the profiles of survey respondents in the urban and suburban site reflected the local social and economic backgrounds. In both sites, migration played an important role, but performed differently. In the urban site, a high percentage of youth were migrants from other regions in China, searching for fortune in this rising tourist destination. While in the suburb town, there were more slightly older mature males and educated youth who had moved away to cities in Tibet and other parts of China, due to the limited public facilities in their home community. As a result, the demographic background of respondents in the Old Town site tended to be more complex, with people from different backgrounds and a high proportion of migrant youth. By way of contrast, the respondents' backgrounds were quite similar in the suburban town. The participants were from a single ethnic background. There tended to be more female and younger respondents due to emigration. According to personal communication with the hosts and the community leaders, it is reported that the female and younger group were left in the community because they were not well prepared or mature enough to leave their hometown.

The suburban town was perceived to be at an early stage of tourism development, and it was anticipated that the suburban youth would have less contacts with tourists. However, they claimed similar levels of tourist contact to their urban counterparts who were witnessing the rapid growth of tourism in Lhasa urban centre daily. The question can be asked, did they have a similar concept of tourists? This will be answered in a later section.

In terms of benefits, the youth in the very early tourism development stage agreed widely that they directly benefitted from tourism development. This high level of perceived benefits resulted from the community owned and collectively operated *Linka* Resort. In the Old Town where tourism had a history of more than 30 years, most of the tourism assets were owned and operated by the state government, rather than the community. In this context, a number of the young hosts failed to see the direct benefits brought by tourism development, for example, the restoration of the streets, the provision of water and public sanitation facilities, and hospitality facilities.

6.3.2 Representations about tourism assets

In both the urban site and the suburban site, the research participants identified some resources at the location that can be used to motivate tourists to select their particular destination. These resources are named as tourism assets in this study, following the terminology of Cernat and Gourdon (2012). These resources are the bases for tourism development in the future.

Both the urban and the suburban Tibetan young hosts had a good knowledge of what could be developed in the community for tourism purposes. Five sets of tourism assets were suggested by the urban hosts, while two sets were identified by the suburban young hosts. Both young groups had detailed perceptions towards the future of these assets in terms of value, development difficulty and desirability. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA (adopted in the Old Town site) and paired-samples t test (employed in the suburban site) found that some of the assets were perceived as significantly differently from others. Concise information is presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6. 2: Tourism assets in the community: A comparative view

Comparative items	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
Identified tourism assets in the community	1) World heritage sites; 2) Religious sites; 3) Traditional yards; 4) Daily life and customs; 5) Tibetan medicine	1) <i>Linka</i> resources; 2) Rurality of the town
Characteristics of these tourism assets	1) The last four assets were underdeveloped as tourism attractions; 2) can be seen as cultural resources	1) Both of them were developed, but in very early stage; 2) can be seen as nature and cultural resources
Perceived value	World heritage sites were perceived as of significantly more value than the others	Valuable at a similar level
Development difficulty	World heritage sites and religious sites were perceived as significantly more difficult to develop than the others	Rurality of the town was perceived as significantly more difficult to develop
Development desirability	World heritage sites were regarded as the most desirable to develop; while traditional yards and Tibetan medicines were the least preferred.	Both desirable but at similar level

From the comparative information, it is evident that the young hosts built their understanding of tourism based on their daily social representations, especially their observations on the places tourists visited and their understanding of their community. Academically, these findings on tourism assets support the previous community development research which has emphasized that development should be community based (Murphy, 1985; Zapata, *et al.*, 2011), because the hosts, though often located in peripheral areas and sometimes with limited exposure to tourism, have valuable indigenous knowledge (Moscardo, 2008). In particular they may be able to suggest solutions, evaluate proposed projects and activities, coordinate and lead projects, and develop partnership with different stakeholders (Butler & Menzies, 2007; Hall & Jenkins, 1998; Johnston, 2000). Findings about the tourism assets also

responded to the idea that hosts have their own understanding of tourism and sometimes clear perceptions and preferences for tourism development in their communities (Amuquandoh, 2010; Erb, 2000; Wu & Pearce, 2012b).

6.3.3 Reverse gaze towards tourists

The Tibetan “Post 80s” hosts in this study also provided their understanding about people who ascend the mountains to see them and their community. In the focus groups, both the urban youth and the suburban youth discussed their images and stereotypes of tourists to their community.

With different degrees and varied kinds of tourism exposure, the urban youth and suburban youth had very different understanding of tourists. Young hosts in the Old Town thought that “tourists are temporary visitors from other regions, both home and abroad.” They also observed that tourists were very different from them, and it was easy to tell them apart from local residents. Young hosts in Caigongtang Town, however, perceived only minimal differences between themselves and the tourists. They regarded tourists mainly as “city people” from the Lhasa urban area and nearby counties, who took day trips and visited their community for recreation during the weekends. In this sense, tourists were their neighboring Tibetans, who also enjoyed the traditional way of recreation, such as going for *Linka* in scenic open-grass areas. The lay understanding of tourists is summarized in Table 6.3.

Table 6. 3: Core representations of tourists: A comparative view

Study site	Core representations of tourists	Sub-representations of tourists
Lhasa Urban Centre	Tourists are “outsiders”. They are different from us.	Tourists come from different corners of the world. They don’t speak Tibetan.
		Tourists stay temporarily, and head for other places soon.
		Tourists are consumers. They are rich, and they spend a lot of money in Lhasa.
		Tourists look different. They are nice and neatly dressed, usually in colorful sportswear, with a camera.
Caigongtang Town (suburban site)	Tourists are “city people”.	Tourists are “city people” from urban Lhasa and counties nearby.
		Tourists are similar to us, enjoy slow pace of life.

Source: Wu and Pearce (2012b)

Based on the general understanding of their definition of tourists, further examination of the complex nature of tourists was conducted. It was found that the urban youth and suburban youth had their own distinctive perspectives. The urban youth classified the tourists based on different demographic or psychological factors. The most common one they adopted was the tourists’ origins. They suggested that the “outsiders” wandering around their community included “foreigners”, “inland Han people”, “Eastern Asians” and “*Khampa and Amdo Tibetans*” (see the left side of Figure 6.1).

The youth in Caigongtang Town, however, mapped tourists in a different way. They divided tourists on the mixed basis of travel arrangements and tourist origins (see the right side of Figure 6.1). The majority of “city people” were classified into group tourists and individual ones. Meanwhile, but much less frequently, classical tourists, such as “foreigners” and “inland Han people” whom they saw in Lhasa Urban Centre, were also identified.

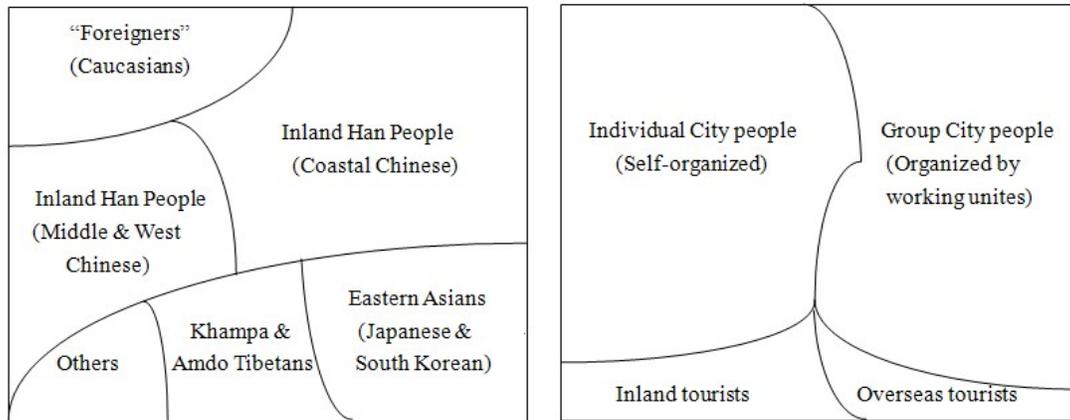


Figure 6. 1: Classification of tourists by “Post 80s” Tibetan youth in the Old Town of Lhasa and Caigongtang Town

Note: The space allocated in Figure 6.1 approximates the importance attached to the group by the research respondents.

During the focus groups, both the urban and suburban young hosts suggested that tourists were motivated to visit their community differently. Additionally, they had images and sometimes distinctive preferences towards different sub-groups. Analysis of the questionnaire based survey data indicated that clear preferences for certain groups of tourists were observed in the Old Town of Lhasa. However, these preferences were fluid. They were not only affected by the hosts’ images of specific tourist groups, but also depended on the nature of the tourism assets. The situation in the suburban town was relatively solid. The suburban young hosts had their preferences for the individual “city people”, who tended to visit their community-based properties and generate direct and equal income for all the community members. Obviously, this clear preference was built more on their views of specific groups of “city people”.

This section of study offers a novel representation of the social world through tourism, because it explored the complex and complete picture of tourists. Previous studies tended to focus on specific groups of tourists (see detailed comments at 4.4.2.4 on p.197). The work responds to Cohen and his colleagues’ (Cohen, 2011; Cohen & Cohen, 2012) recent emphasis on the changing faces of contemporary tourism and tourists. It also reinforces Murphy, *et al.*’s (2012) report on the value of drawing a complete picture of tourists in tourism impacts study.

6.3.4 Perceptions of development assets and contextual issues

The concerns about the access to development assets (e.g. economic, human and social assets) and the uncontrollable contextual issues are good reflections of the micro and macro environment.

(1) Economic assets

In terms of economic assets, which encompass the financial and physical assets in this thesis, the young hosts suggested what were important, and what they would like to improve in the future. Table 6.4 displays the key information.

Table 6. 4: Perceptions of economic assets for tourism purpose

Economic assets	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
What are important?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Properties close to tourism attractions • Disposable savings • Access to credits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disposable savings • The scenery quality of the green grass land • Public transportation
What they have?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nothing special at the individual level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spacious newly built Tibetan style houses
What they would like to improve?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entertainment facilities • Convenient transportation • Diversified accommodation • Shopping facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The public facilities (e.g. sealed roads within the community) • Transportation connection • Credit access

(2) Human assets

When it comes to the human assets and tourism development, the youth groups had a good understanding of what they had at the community level and at the household level. They identified some common advantages of their human assets. For example, they did not lack talented people who were able to understand and master special skills to demonstrate local cultures. As another example, both groups emphasised that they had very supportive families and neighbours, and they were not concerned about labour supply.

Both of the groups, however, had their distinctive concerns. For the suburban youth, their concern was how to employ the talented individuals to better represent themselves and enhance the city people's experience. The urban young hosts, on the other side, were worried

about the structure of the human assets. In addition to the advantages, they suggested that a mastery of local knowledge combined with marketing and management knowledge was critical for future development. They realized that they were short of management professionals, which could be achieved through education and training of themselves, as well as achieved by recruiting outside experts.

(3) Social and political assets

The respondents' understanding of social and political assets were consistent with their understanding of human assets. The urban young hosts seemed to focus more on the exogenous issues, while the suburban youth look inward and searched for the endogenous forces that were helpful to tourism development (see Table 6.5). Arguably these differences reflect the development stages at the sites.

Table 6. 5: Social and political assets perceived by the young hosts in two sites, Lhasa

Study sites	Important social and political assets
The Old Town of Lhasa (an urban site)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The collective atmosphere and culture in the household and community • Networking and connection with government • Networking and connection with the market forces • Community participation in the development • National characteristics of Tibetan ethnic groups
Caigongtang Town (a suburban site)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support from family and neighbours • Cohesive community • Informal but influential organizations • Network with the outside world, mainly the market forces

(4) Vulnerability issues

In reviewing three kinds of vulnerability issues, the young hosts at the two sites had fairly different ideas. Issues such as seasonality, political stability, and the negative images of Tibet were principal concerns for some of the urban youth. In the eyes of suburban youth, these issues were not applicable to their community at all. The differences in these concerns are reasonable when the target markets for the two locations are considered.

Table 6. 6: Perceptions of the vulnerability issues by the young hosts in two sites, Lhasa

Vulnerability issues	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
Trends	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very positive, and confident about their distinctiveness • More tourists would arrive • Achieve a better provision system, room to improve 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Slowly realizing that (potential) competitors are offering similar products • Making progress in provision
Seasonality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strong seasonality was noticed • Indigenous Tibetan youth with religious beliefs thought positively about seasonality • Migrant Tibetan youth without religious belief considered seasonality as very negative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neutral as a phenomenon • Do not bother to think about seasonality, because it is an inherent phenomenon in their lifestyle
Shocks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unexpected incidents and political stability • Natural disasters • Financial crisis • Negative images about Tibet held by the outside 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At a household level, e.g. death, illness • Natural disaster at a community level

(5) Institutional arrangements (Political, Institution, and Process issues)

The young hosts at both sites realized the essential roles of PIP issues. No direct and detailed questions about PIP issues were explored in the Old Town site, because of the sensitive environment. Insights were, however, generated in the focus groups discussion and through informal discussion. Alternative questions on the local government’s (especially tourism administration) performance and who should take more responsibility in future tourism development were asked. The urban young hosts indicated that local Lhasa government could do a better job in the future and should take more responsibility in sustainable tourism.

The suburban youth in Caigongtang Town identified some PIP issues existing in their community. These issues were specific and reflected immediate local concerns. These

elements included the power and helpfulness of their sister organizations in Lhasa city, their position in the local government's master planning work, and family members' roles in the local political system.

6.3.5 Perceptions on tourism as a future livelihoods choice

Current livelihoods profiles for Tibetan youth in the urban and suburban settings were very different. The top three income generating sources for the Old Town of Lhasa were wholesale and retail trading, tourism, and handicrafts making. Together, they accounted for 94.2% of the choices. In the suburban location, the most recognized livelihoods were agriculture (vegetable and barley growing), casual jobs in cities and animal husbandry (yak and sheep). Tourism, which was in its very early stage, only played a minor role for most of the suburban respondents and their family's livelihoods portfolio.

The emphasis of the comparison here is the perceptions of tourism as a future livelihoods choice. The cluster analysis in different sites showed that the urban and suburban youth not only held some different representations, but also shared common views. The core ideas are summarized in Table 6.7.

Table 6. 7: Tourism as a future livelihoods choice: A comparative view

Items	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
Current livelihoods portfolios	A diverse of livelihoods, mainly the wholesale and retail trading, tourism, and handicrafts making.	A livelihoods portfolio of agriculture, casual jobs in cities and animal husbandry.
Commonality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Both groups realized that tourism was a potential livelihoods choice in their broader livelihoods portfolio; • Both young hosts groups were heterogeneous. They were made up of sub-groups with significantly different preferences for tourism as a future livelihoods choice; • Certain groups in each site were deeply influenced by the traditional culture and beliefs; • Both studies showed that the level of contact with tourists significantly influenced the research respondents' representations. 	
The structure of sub-groups	Four sub-groups were identified: “ <i>moderate supporters</i> ”, “ <i>community oriented supporters</i> ”, “ <i>willingly involved controllers</i> ” and “ <i>extreme enthusiasts</i> ”	Four sub-groups were identified: “ <i>moderate supporters</i> ”, “ <i>community oriented supporters</i> ”, “ <i>personally disengaged controllers</i> ” and “ <i>extreme enthusiasts</i> ”
	<i>Emancipated representations were observed.</i> The sub-group distribution was relatively even (the biggest sub-group accounted for 36.7%)	<i>Hegemonic representations were observed.</i> There was one dominant sub-group (accounted for 50%) and three minor sub-groups (accounted less than 20% each)
	Tourism was an attractive livelihood choice (76% of the respondents showed their interest in tourism jobs)	Tourism was not dominant as an attractive livelihood (42.3% respondents were not willing to work in tourism)
Determining factor	Preferred roles of tourism in the community's future	The willingness to take tourism jobs

In each study site, four different groups were identified with distinctive characteristics. The “*extreme enthusiasts*”, “*moderate supporters*” and “*community oriented*

supporters” in both communities held similar representations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice. However, the scale of these groups was very different (see Table 6.8). It is noted that in the Old Town of Lhasa, there were emancipated representations among the young hosts, who tended to dispersed evenly, with distinctive representations within groups, but fairly different views among groups. In the more traditional and remote suburban site, hegemonic representations were identified, with one dominant group and three minor groups. Half of the young hosts fell into the dominant group, the “moderate supporters”. This phenomenon recalls previous arguments that the more remote and traditional the communities are, the more homogeneous they are (Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Suntikul, *et al.*, 2010). It is suspected, that with the exposure to the tourism industry and the progress of modernity, the structure and diversity of the livelihoods groups in the suburban town may change considerably.

Table 6. 8: The distribution of different livelihoods groups: A comparative view

Proportion in each site Livelihoods groups	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
Moderate supporters	36.7%	50.0%
Community oriented supporters	24.0%	13.3%
Controllers	Willingly involved 14.0%	Personally disengaged 19.0%
Extreme enthusiasts	25.3%	17.7%

Further, it is noted that there was a different sub-group in the two communities. Both the groups proposed that tourism should be controlled, or at most maintained at current level. Their difference lay in whether they were interested in taking tourism jobs or not. The sub-group in the Old Town were actually willingly involved in tourism, while the group from the suburban site were personally disengaged. Cross tabulation analysis with chi-square test discovered that both groups were indigenous Tibetan youth with clear religious beliefs and frequent contacts with tourists.

6.3.6 Aspirations of sustainable tourism outcomes

(1) The attributes of sustainable tourism outcomes

Focus groups studies at each site identified nine attributes for sustainable tourism livelihoods outcomes. Some were similar, but selected specific issues were considered for each community (see Table 6.9). For example, the suburban youth placed the improvement of the public facilities, especially the sealed roads within the community as the most important outcomes, whereas, in the Old Town of Lhasa where the infrastructure was well established, the improvement of public infrastructure was not a concern. Another example is that the urban young hosts expected that an orderly tourism market with powerful legislation and regulations would be available. This, however, was not a concern in the very early stage for “city people” tourism at the suburban site. Another subtle difference lies in their different emphasis concerning their eagerness that more people become aware of their community. The urban youth would like to see more people know and approach their community with an open mind; that is, the tourists should view their community thoughtfully, rather than gazing at them as an exotic and primitive society (L-FG-1&3, 2010). In the suburban town where most of the tourists are from the same culture and traditions, the young hosts simply prefer the growth of their reputation as a recreation destination. They clearly want more “city people” to visit.

Table 6. 9: Sustainable tourism outcomes: A comparative view

Outcome attributes	The Old Town of Lhasa (urban)	Caigongtang Town (suburban)
Common attributes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tibetan culture/local culture is appreciated and protected; • Maintains and even improves the environment, (e.g. Linka resources); • Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and enhances their well-being/ make them richer with more disposable income; • Community participates in tourism development (e.g. decision making, jobs); • Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities/ Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with skills and good qualities; • Tourists/ city people are satisfied and willing to make word-of-mouth recommendation. 	
Different emphasis	Adopt environmental friendly materials and technologies	Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. sealed roads
	Availability of legislation and regulations, an orderly industry	More fun in the community, with more hospitality and entertainment facilities
	More people approach Lhasa with an open mind	More people know about Caigongtang, and would like to visit

On reviewing these outcome attributes, it is noted that these attributes, correspond to the young hosts' understanding of development assets as the base of their livelihoods activities. As an example, Table 6.10 considers the suburban site and establishes the connections between these attributes and the development assets. The same links apply to the Old Town of Lhasa site. Such connections vividly establish that the SL approach is a systematic and dynamic approach in viewing real life (Ashley, 2000; Tao, 2006). It begins with viewing the assets arrangement in the community, and ends with the enhancement of these assets, which makes a specific livelihoods activity

sustainable (Chambers & Conway, 1991). To be sustainable, there must be a circle of improvement and enhancement.

Table 6. 10: The connections between the aspirations of tourism outcomes and reinvestment of development assets: An example of Caigongtang Town

Assets and access	Attributes of sustainable tourism outcomes
Tourism assets	Maintains and even improves the environment (e.g. Linka resources);
	Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected
	More people know Caigongtang, and would like to visit us
	City people enjoy our community and are happy to come back
Economic assets (financial & physical assets)	Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. the road will be sealed
	More fun in the community, with more hospitality and entertaining facilities
	We are benefitted from tourism, and will be richer, with more disposable income
Human assets	Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with skills and good qualities
Social & political assets	Community participate in tourism development (e.g. decision making, jobs)

(2) The future orientation of development

In the questionnaire survey, all the respondents were asked to rate the importance and expected performance of the identified attributes on a five-point Likert scale. Repeated measures one-way ANOVA analysis indicated that some specific attributes were perceived as significantly more important or expected to perform significantly much better than others. The significant differences were taken into account when confirming the location of the dividing lines in the IPA quadrant. It helped to indicate

the priorities for future work and policy orientation. At the community level, young respondents in the Old Town of Lhasa suggested that special attention should be addressed to the following attributes,

- Maintain and even improve the environment
- Availability of legislation and regulations
- Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected
- More people approach Lhasa with an open mind

In Caigongtang Town, the IPA analysis demonstrated the issues that local youth concerned most were:

- Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. the sealed roads
- Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected
- City people enjoy our community and are happy to come back

6.3.7 Summary of the synthesis

The comparisons made above were based on the elements of the SL framework, connecting the main findings in the two studies of this thesis. The comparative studies strongly suggested that the young hosts even though living in remote areas and with limited exposure to tourism, had their own localised understanding of tourism and its related issues. This local awareness was apparent in their perceptions of tourism assets and development assets, their images of tourists, their preferences for tourism jobs, and their aspiration for tourism outcomes. Local youth understand their needs, the limitations on future development, and are able to articulate their own plans for change.

The comparisons of the two sites, a mere 7 kilometres away from each other, suggested that even in traditional communities where tourism is a new arrival, the hosts have different representations of tourism. These differences demonstrated the power of cultural, social, economic and other contextual issues in understanding livelihoods choices. The results also suggested that individuals and communities have their own values, meanings, customs, and knowledge systems that affirm identity and

diversity and play a key role in sustaining livelihoods. These ideas strengthened the emphasis on paying attention to the contextual issues during the research (Chambers, 2007; Cohen, 1979b; McKercher & du Cros, 2002; Scott & Selwyn, 2010). The findings also reinforce previous SL work which has suggested that a close examination of how cultural issues affected livelihoods choices (Daskon & Binns, 2010; Petersen & Pedersen, 2010; Tao & Wall, 2009).

6.4 Implications of this study

The set of studies in this thesis were built on realizing a number of research opportunities in tourism community relationships study. These identified opportunities were:

- There is a lack of forward-looking research in tourism community studies and tourism studies as general (Wall & Mathieson, 2006; Wu & Pearce, 2012c);
- An emic understanding of how locals define tourism, tourists and inspire of their futures tends to be missing (Cohen, 1979b; Maoz & Bekerman, 2010; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996; Pearce & Wu, 2010);
- There is a paucity of research on the young hosts, because the majority of research goes to their counterparts, young tourists. Young hosts had been overlooked as “the forgotten half” (Canosa, *et al.*, 2001; Crick, 1998; Lv & Liu, 2009);
- Tourism community studies in the urban areas in non-western environment may greatly enhance our understanding, considering the wider contextual issues that may be very different from studies in western contexts (Gu & Ryan, 2008; Li, 2008; Schofield, 2011; Wang, 2006; Wearing, *et al.*, 2010; Xu, *et al.*, 2008);
- According to the “theories of middle ground” (Cohen, 1972; Dann, 2005; Franklin & Crang, 2001; Smith & Lee, 2010), there is an opportunity to extend the concepts and exploring the theoretical application of key approaches in the tourism community literature, particularly the social representations theory, the SL framework, and the emic approach.

This empirical study in Lhasa's specific context, the Old Town of Lhasa and Caigongtang Town in the suburban, addressed the particular research opportunities mentioned above. This section presents the major implications from this study *at the research approach and methods level, at a theoretical level, and at a conceptual level*. In addition, due to its people-centred and forward-looking nature, this thesis also contributes to practice. Further, this section summarizes how this study has the potential to export knowledge to other academic fields and to the world of practice (cf. Jafari, 2005). The assessment and synthesis of these issues attends to the fourth aim of this thesis, which endeavours to extend and explore the application of the social representations theory, the SL framework and the emic approach in a non-western context.

6.4.1 Research oriented implications

6.4.1.1 Doing research in a marginal and politically sensitive context:

Research approach and methods perspectives

As stated at the end of the first section in the introduction chapter (see p.5), a pivotal consideration of this study lies in revealing and identify the researcher's position in relation to the research issues. The researcher is a Han Chinese female Ph.D student based in an Australia University, which does not have any political links or affiliations to power and political bases in China. This research focuses on assessing the Tibetan "Post 80s" young hosts' views towards tourism and their future livelihoods concerning tourism by accessing and recording the genuine voices of the young hosts.

In a recent publication, Bell (2012), a British social scientist, used her research experience in Cuba to demonstrate some challenges in eliciting the genuine opinions of the native population. She emphasised the importance of being creative and flexible, and using multiple data sources and techniques of data collection. Coincidentally, Yang, Ryan and Zhang (2012) published a research note on using questionnaires in Chinese tourism research, especially in the peripheral areas. They

emphasised the adjustment due to Chinese culture. This thesis, in another isolated and politically charged context, adopted similar strategies, which were carried out in a contextually sensitive way. In detail, this study suggests that a conceptual and paradigm shift can work as a pathway. To be specific, the shift needs to 1) afford participants the opportunity to explore and talk about the taken for granted issues in their lives, reflecting on personal experiences through the process of image production; and 2) generate personal narratives that enhance data quality, validity and subsequent research findings.

To achieve the goals, this study integrates the emic and etic approaches into a system. In the studies, some fresh research methods and research techniques were employed and combined. They were the participants' based photo-elicitation interviews, focus group interviews with photos as stimuli, and questionnaire based survey incorporating photo scenarios (see detail at 2.3). Multiple studies in diverse areas (Albers & James, 1988; Liebenberg, 2009; Pink, 2007) and recent studies in tourism (Brickell, 2012; Burns, *et al.*, 2010; Hunter, 2012; Miller, *et al.*, 2010; Westwood, 2007) have indicated that visual images are not only powerful in representation, but may also be able to act as discussion points and increase the validity of research involving crossing boundaries. Visual images, mostly photo-elicitation interviewees' photos were widely used in both the field trip and data interpretation of this thesis.

The three adopted methods were carried out in a sequence with the previous method offering materials to design and organize the next research procedure. The three carefully selected methods worked together well, with data complementary to each other. The questionnaire based survey analysed by advanced statistical tools enables us to understand the phenomenon in a broader way, while the emic information from photo-elicitation interviews and focus groups not only help construct the questionnaire based survey, but also assist the interpretation of the complexities in the data. The combination of these methods enhanced the reliability and the richness of this study. The effect of combining qualitative and quantitative methods in this particular study strongly supports previous statements about the advantages of mixing

methods (Niblo & Jackson, 2004) and methodological innovation (Pearce & Yagi, 2004). It also overcomes a research weakness of the previous SL studies in terms of underusing the power of advanced statistical methods (Snider, 2012).

In searching for the truth of tourism, Tribe (2006) reminded researchers to be open and mindful to the communities being researched. It responds to this call and to obtain genuine voices in a marginal politically charged context, it is critical to create a social, natural and relaxing environment so that people can come and talk about themselves (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Pearce & Wu, 2010; Peek & Fothergill, 2009). The author of this thesis adopted a diversity of techniques to achieve an equal, non-threatening, and encouraging context. For example, participants taken/located photos were at centre of the photo-elicitation interviews; key informants recruitment and spontaneous recruitment techniques were employed to assist participants to share and easily communicate their views with peers; photos were used as stimuli during the focus groups interviews; interview sites were carefully selected which were familiar to the informants; and snacks and drinks were offered to facilitate the process. These efforts were carried out as part of a cautious approach to seek respondents' views in the Tibetan context. It can be suggested that this way of conducting research in a politically charged situation can provide valuable information which is relatively free of external observer values and opinions.

In summary, this study exercised considerable care in eliciting local voices and asking questions that made sense to the research respondents, rather than structuring questions from a pre-existing framework. Nevertheless, the author acknowledges the need to clearly specify her role as a researcher and let the readers judge whether they feel implicit power relationships could have influenced those interviewed. The research approach and methods undertaken in this study, including both the methodological considerations and the detailed practice, are of relevance to anyone considering carrying out fieldwork investigations in a marginal and/or politically sensitive context.

6.4.1.2 The diverse views in a society: Social representations theory

The findings in this thesis reinforce the perspectives within social representations theory concerning the diverse nature of any community. This can be demographic diversity, e.g. residents with different regional origins, education background, and religious beliefs. More importantly, the diverse nature of a community is reflected through the heterogeneous views towards a specific topic. It is argued that focusing on the diverse socio-psychological perspective is a more incisive research approach for understanding a particular society (Moscovici & Markov, 1998; Pearce, 2005b; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996).

A notable example in this thesis is the existence of the diverse sub-groups in both the Old Town and the suburban Caigongtang Town. Both groups of young hosts considered tourism's overall future and tourism as a livelihoods choice within their broader livelihoods options. The majority (85.7%) of the young respondents in the Old Town of Lhasa displayed a general optimism towards tourism's future in the community (see 4.4.1). This view can thus be described as an apparent hegemonic representation, which suggests that there is a dominant and widely accepted understanding towards a particular issue (Moscovici, 1988). Nevertheless, with respect to tourism as a future livelihoods choice, four different subgroups emerged in both the urban and suburban community, with significantly different preferences for tourism as a future livelihoods choice (see the synthesis in 6.3.5 and details in 4.4.4 and 5.5.4 respectively). In the urban site, the distribution of the four subgroups was fairly even, without any dominant group. The diverse ideas, sometimes conflicting ideas co-existing in the community, can be understood as emancipated representations with a community (Moscovici, 1988). Social representations display "an outgrowth of the circulation of knowledge and ideas belonging to subgroups that are in a more or less close contact (p.221)." In this way, the apparently hegemonic representations at the level of optimism can be better understood as emancipated social representations. In the suburban town, however, we observed hegemonic representations again, with

one dominant sub-group (accounted for 50%) and three minor sub-groups (accounted less than 20% each) emerged.

In addition, the segmentation of the livelihoods groups in the Old Town of Lhasa (e.g. “*moderate supporter*”, “*community oriented supporters*”, “*willingly involved controllers*” and “*extreme enthusiasts*”) and another four groups in the suburban Caigongtang Town (e.g. “*moderate supporter*”, “*community oriented supporters*”, “*personally disengaged controllers*” and “*extreme enthusiasts*”) supported previous research that suggested the diverse nature of host tourism communities (Dogan, 1989; Gu & Ryan, 2012; Gursoy, *et al.*, 2009; Pearce, 2005b; Pérez & Nadal, 2005; Schofield, 2011; van der Duim, *et al.*, 2005; Williams & Lawson, 2001). This study, in one of the most peripheral areas in the world, supports the view that even when the society tends to be less diversified it can still contain heterogeneous views (Brida, *et al.*, 2010; Kibicho, 2008; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Nunkoo & Ramkissoon, 2010; Schweinsberg, *et al.*, 2012). Indeed, there are many ways to see and to interpret the world on the basis of one’s everyday themes of life and contacts (Fredline & Faulkner, 2003; Moscovici, 1988; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The tourism host community may be more heterogeneous than we might think.

Realizing the diverse nature of a community is of great importance to both future research and the practice work. Social representations theory suggested that the society is organized as groups and subgroups, rather than a collection of individual social atoms (Moscovici, 1976; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). The acknowledgement of the diverse community goes beyond the reach of tourism research. It is also relevant to any development and community work.

6.4.1.3 Tourism as a livelihoods diversification: The SL approach’s perspective

A third implication of this thesis lies in the contribution to the understanding of the SL approach, especially in terms of tourism’ roles in the livelihoods portfolio. The examination of the rapidly developing destination of Lhasa indicated that people in

the urban Lhasa site gain their income through a combination of different livelihoods (e.g. wholesale and retailing, tourism and handicrafts making) and people in the suburban town received their income from a very different portfolio of livelihoods (e.g. agriculture, casual jobs in the city and animal husbandry).

In the suburban site, we witnessed a considerable unwillingness to take tourism jobs in the future and low support for substantially more tourism development in the future. This finding reinforced the idea that tourism is not always a panacea for all communities (Ap & Crompton, 1998; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1978). Hosts, due to different contexts, have their own views when contemplating tourism opportunities.

It has been argued that an increasing awareness of livelihoods diversification is strategic and beneficial to the long-term development of any society (Barrett, *et al.*, 2001; Ellis, 2000; Niehof, 2004). The aspirations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice in the next 5-10 years provided empirical support to the idea that the young respondents' attitudes towards tourism may be very different from their intentions to be involved in tourism. It is important for scholars not to mix these two issues (Lai & Nepal, 2006; Pearce, *et al.*, 1996). More importantly, the reality suggests that tourism's potential role in the community should be positioned as a livelihoods diversification, rather than replacing other existing livelihoods (Gurung & Seeland, 2011; Lee, 2008; Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; Tao, 2006; Tao & Wall, 2009). The respondents in the urban site suggested that tourism is fragile due to the complex Tibet and China relationship, so for them an over concentration on the vulnerable tourism sector is not a sound choice (cf. Baker & Coulter, 2007; Mandke, 2007). A powerful example is provided by the groups of young hosts identified from both tourism communities who were enthusiastic about occupying tourism jobs and positive about tourism's future. These groups were labelled as "*extreme enthusiasts*". They only accounted for a small proportion of all the respondents, 25.3% and 17.7% respectively. These figures indicate that tourism, no matter how important it is or it will be, should not dominate the economy. Rather, it should be suitably integrated

with local activities and processes and complement other livelihoods opportunities (Butler, 1999; Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011).

Tourism as a livelihoods diversification also reflects Wall's concern about the suitability of using the concept of sustainable tourism (Wall, 2007; Wall & Mathieson, 2006). It is appreciated that tourism researchers and policy makers locate tourism as an important sector that contributing to the livelihoods enhancement of host community (Andereck & Nyaupane, 2011; Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Uysal, Perdue, & Sirgy, 2012). It is, however, equally important to realize that tourism is not a panacea and that tourism as a livelihoods choice/enhancement should be put in the context of existing or other livelihoods options in the region.

This study only examined the young hosts' views on their future livelihoods concerned with tourism. The assertions made here about the role of tourism in livelihoods diversification may be applied to other livelihoods approaches as well: for example, agriculture as a livelihood at present and in the future.

6.4.1.4 Thinking through tourism: The wider issues

In the Old Town of Lhasa, it was observed that there were three principle social-cultural values affecting the young hosts' assessment of tourism assets and their aspirations for future livelihoods. These three influential issues are the primary concern about social stability, the traditional cultural values (e.g. Tibetan Buddhism and Confucianism), and the contemporary thinking (e.g. the market economy). In the suburban town, the concern about social stability seemed less relevant, because their tourists were "city people" from nearby areas, especially the Lhasa urban area. Instead, they revealed their concerns about other political arrangements in China. In particular, they highlighted the issues of the partnerships between a village and an administrative department in the nearby city, between the rural and cities, and between the economically poor regions and the economically developed regions. They realized that if they accessed to a supportive, powerful and financially rich partner in the Lhasa urban area, they might be able to seize more development opportunities.

These findings strengthen the idea that tourism is a useful context in which to view everyday life practices as it connects with many other phenomena and frequently represents a microcosm of wider realities (Jordan & Aitchison, 2008; Pearce, 2011a; Scott & Selwyn, 2010; Zhong, Peng, & Zheng, 2003). This view responds to Xiaoan Wei's (2010), a key figure in CNTA, presentation that tourism planning and development in Tibet should full consider the political issues, even though tourism planning and development is not about such issues. This idea is, also, in agreement with assertions that doing tourism research in China is a distinctive challenge. Within China, tourism is heavily contextualized within the broader economic and social policies (Ryan & Gu, 2009c), and thus it reflects the relationships between traditional culture and the modernisation of China. These relationships and realities continue to be a major concern for China and the Chinese society (Ryan, 2011; Xu, *et al.*, 2008). A single-minded concentration on tourism to the exclusion of the wider picture would therefore be incomplete. The emphasis on the links between tourism and the wider issues also supports the adoption of the emic approach for this study. These comments also apply to other tourism research topics such as customer behaviour and cross-cultural interaction.

6.4.2 Understanding the hosts: The managerial implications

In discussing the transformative benefits of tourism to communities, Wall and Mathieson (2006) commented that it is not appropriate to simply count the number of tourist arrivals. It is the type of tourism, the types of tourists, and the ways in which the involvement of local people in tourism can be facilitated really matters. They observed that “the interest of residents should be a central component of tourism plans (p.293).” They also pointed out that this is often “absent or an afterthought (p. 293)”. This study puts the research respondents at the centre of the research and has generated a series of inputs from the young hosts, who are key potential future players in all aspects of the society. The work may therefore contribute to tourism decision making and implementation within Lhasa, Tibet. Some of the research results of this study have been communicated to the head of Lhasa Tourism Administration, who

generously helped the researcher in 2010. The assistance included organizing her field trip and the provision of updated tourism statistical data. Further communication is underway to report the research results to this organization. Additionally, this Lhasa based study is also relevant to governments, policy makers and managers at other locations. It has relevance for all those who are keen to incorporate tourism as a tool for livelihoods enhancement and probably those who are in the early stages of tourism development. These contributions are developed in some more detail in the following four sections.

6.4.2.1 Young hosts are important contributing stakeholders

Both studies in this thesis revealed that the young hosts were able to contribute to local development issues, including but not limited to tourism. They can drive the development process themselves by identifying existing assets as well as highlighting the unrecognised assets (see synthesis at 6.3.2). It also demonstrated that the young hosts had a good knowledge of and understanding of tourists and tourism in their communities (see synthesis at 6.3.3). In addition, the young hosts in this study displayed their knowledge of related assets (e.g. economic, human and social) and the persistent vulnerability issues (see synthesis at 6.3.4). Further, the young hosts were clear about their role in tourism and aspirations for tourism outcomes (see synthesis at 6.3.5 and 6.3.6). These findings fully support the idea that local residents can identify what they have, including the underlying assets, which can be applied to support development in a sustainable way (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993; Moscardo, 2008; Sarkar & Uddin, 2011). To put the ideas in a more direct way, policy makers, in this case, Lhasa government can try to empower local residents, listen to their voices in development before making plans for people in this location. This may, on the one hand, result in a better plan for all stakeholders in Lhasa, and on the other hand, may also support and massage the sensitive Tibet China relationship.

6.4.2.2 Developing desirable tourism products in the future

Researchers and policy makers have realized that the development of tourism in a community is not simply a matter of matching product supply with tourist demand. The desirability of tourism to the hosts also needs to be examined (Amuquandoh, 2010; Andereck & Vogt, 2000). The young hosts in both sites identified the tourism assets and other assets that can be used for tourism development. Tibetan “Post 80s” youth in Lhasa city centre not only identified four undeveloped tourism assets for future development, but also revealed significantly different judgement towards the (potential) tourism attraction assets identified by themselves in the foundation studies stage. For example, the highest development desirability was attached to the world heritage sites, while a medium level of desirability was given to the religious sites, and daily life and customs assets. Traditional Tibetan yards and Tibetan medicine received the lowest desirability ratings for development. Similar phenomenon emerged in the suburban town. Hence, it is reasonable to suggest that mere identification and development of available tourism resources in a community is not enough to ensure successful tourism development. It is equally important to assess the meanings the host, especially the young generation, attach to these tourism attraction assets, as well as their value, difficulty and desirability of use for tourism purposes. In particular, the information disclosed in this study offers tourism planners and researchers more detailed information about tourism products that the hosts will support or oppose.

6.4.2.2 Attracting the preferred tourists

This study also assessed the young hosts’ reverse gaze on the tourists who come to the mountains to view their community. They presented very detailed perceptions and preferences towards a full picture of tourists. The different interpretation, classification and preferences given to different groups of tourists can serve as a guide to devise sensitive tours or promotional messages that are respectful, less intrusive, and able to provide economic benefits to the local community. Seeing oneself (and

one's environment) as seen by others is a helpful reflection facilitating self-understanding guiding appropriate behavior (Wu & Pearce, 2012b). Thus, the information developed here can also be provided to tourists. Information on how tourists are perceived and preferred by local youth can generate awareness for visitors of how to behave. It can also indicate where they are most welcome and where they are likely to be understood.

6.4.2.3 Targeting the hosts who are interested in tourism livelihoods

The grouping of the young hosts' aspirations towards tourism as a livelihoods choice can act as the departure point for the Lhasa government to incorporate tourism or any other new livelihoods into the existing livelihoods portfolio. A few scholars have identified their concerns about the practicability of the SL approach because it is technically complex and hard to implement (Carney, 2003; Haidar, 2009; Petersen & Pedersen, 2010). The researcher argues that this can be overcome by assessing people's aspirations towards some specific livelihoods activities. Taking the young hosts views of tourism and their future livelihoods in the suburban town as an example, there emerged two groups, "*moderate supporters*" and "*extreme enthusiasts*". An analysis of their demographic and psychological profile suggested that they have the most potential to support more tourism activities in the town. To maximize the outcomes with limited assets, it is critical to identify the relevant groups, rather than dealing with the community as a homogeneous whole, especially when enhancing a specific livelihood activity in the future. Thus in this case, the "*moderate supporters*" and "*extreme enthusiasts*" can be the focus of the local town government's work if they are interested in promoting more tourism in their town. Further, tailored, effective and adaptive tourism planning and management can be implemented. These approaches are central to sustainable tourism development (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). At this time, policy makers at the local town may doubt the feasibility of identifying the relevant groups. The discriminant analysis of this study, which determined the predictor variables that contribute most to the distinction among clusters, offers an approach to identify these key groups. The practical departure point

for livelihoods enhancement suggested in this study may also be applicable to other activities in the region or other regions.

6.4.2.4 Concentrating on people's priorities and preferences

At both the study sites, the young hosts suggested a series of attributes that they would like to see for future tourism. Different priorities were identified even in the physically close sites. The urban youth were mostly interested in the cultural legacy, an orderly tourism market, and the proper communication of Lhasa images. The suburban young hosts, who are located 7 kilometers away, however, were firstly interested in improving the public infrastructures (e.g. the sealed roads) and the provision of hospitality and entertainment facilities in the community. These two youth groups empirically supported the idea presented in the adjusted SL framework, that people have different preferences and development priorities. The development "OF" the community (Beaulieu, 2002), requires local policy makers and managers who pay primary interest to the community's aspirations. These consultative and research- informed approaches may assist the creation of an ideal that is widely advocated by all levels of Chinese society – a harmonious society.

6.5 Limitations of this study and areas for future research

This section presents the limitations of current study and areas for future research. The approaches to avoid similar limitations are offered. Attention is directed to some key areas that can be developed to extend the current study in a reasonable way.

6.5.1 Limitations of this study

The four major limitations of this study, that can possibly be overcome, are presented in the order of their appearance in the study.

6.5.1.1 Timing of the field trip

The first concern is the timing of doing the field trip. The field trip to the urban site and suburban site was mainly carried out in a four and half month span from middle March to the end July, 2010. The year 2010 was a good choice, because Lhasa, Tibet had just experienced the extraordinary tourism development in 2007 (2.740 million tourists), then a dramatic drop in 2008 due to the social instability (1.346 million tourists), followed by a very positive recovery in 2009 (3.205 million tourists). Because of the great fluctuation in tourist numbers and their corresponding impacts, the hosts in Lhasa as a whole, not just the young respondents in this study, were arguably sensitised to tourism development issues. However, the field trip in these two cities began in March, which was possibly the worst timing for doing research there. All the political and religious riots in Tibet, mainly in Lhasa, occurred in March (e.g. in 1988, 1989, and 2008), as a result, the Chinese central government was especially sensitive at this time. Thousands of security staff was sent from other parts of China to the Lhasa urban centre and other areas. Armed security men were seen at every corner of the city, including the entrance to the tourism attractions sites, the roof of the public square, the entrance of different government departments, and even at local universities and schools. It is suspected that more plainclothes security people were observing the public areas, e.g. tea houses, streets, markets and parks.

This phenomenon has been briefly recorded by Fu (2010) when she described the unexpected challenges she faced after the 2008 riot in Lhasa. Indeed, because of the stressful atmosphere, very few people were happy to talk with “a stranger” (the researcher) from an overseas university. Fortunately, the situation turned out to be better in middle April, when most of armed security personnel left Lhasa and the life was back to normal. Arriving in March definitely made the researcher aware of the power of political forces in the context. If possible, however, the author suggests that future researchers, especially social science researchers, conduct their study in Lhasa in other months, rather than March. Extending it to a wider context, the author would

advise doing even more extensive pre-trip research about the destination, especially in politically charged contexts and other seasonally sensitive or fragile environments.

6.5.1.2 Sampling in the survey: Are they really so well-educated?

The second limitation of this thesis is about the issue of sampling. The limitations here are perhaps matched by some strengths. For example, the sample of the survey in the Old Town site was well distributed in terms of gender, regional origins, age and occupations (tourist contacts and tourism benefits). As another example, the incorporation of the migrant youth in this study is reflective of the contextual issues in Lhasa development and worldwide that more and more people migrating for their livelihoods enhancement (Ellis, 2000; Qin, 2009; Wouterse & Taylor, 2008). However, the education level of the research respondents was unexpectedly high, with two thirds of the respondents having received or receiving higher education. A reviewer of an output from this project doubted that the researcher adopted convenience samples because of the high educational level of the young respondents in the Old Town of Lhasa (see 4.3.2 and Table 4.2). The researcher acknowledges that the high education level of the sample is not consistent with Lhasa's average level at that time. It did not, however, result from a sample of convenience. Using convenient samples of college students has been criticised in concerning on previous studies on youth and youth in tourism (see the third comment at 1.4.3). The researcher sought to recruit samples with a diverse background.

Unfortunately, this research turned out not to be very diverse in terms of educational background, though the samples were well distributed on other demographic factors. There are two reasons contributing to the high educational background of the samples, including the significantly higher education received by half of the sample (the migrant Tibetan youth). It can also be recalled that there was often a recommendation that the best educated youth in the family/group completed the local household and tea house surveys (see detail at 4.3.2).

The data from the section analysing tourism as a future livelihoods choice suggested that both the “extreme enthusiasts” in the urban and the suburban were actually less well educated. Those who received higher levels of education mainly fell into “moderate supporters” and “community oriented supporters”. Following this finding, obtaining the voices from the less educated family members may be a task for future study, though the influence of the best educated family member and their articulate response as reported in the pages of this thesis in his/her households/peers should be acknowledged. In similar studies, techniques can be taken to encourage the more marginal groups to offer their opinions. They may have further detailed and indigenous knowledge which supplements that of their educated counterparts.

6.5.1.3 The balance within different components of the SL framework

The SL framework was adopted in this thesis as the framework guiding what questions to be asked in the research design. Its holistic nature and consistency with the social representations of a livelihoods activity enhanced the quality of research. This feature, on the other hand, makes “it is difficult to embrace a complete SL approach in one study and it is reasonable to focus on part of it (An anonymous reviewer’s comment, 27th, April, 2012)”. It is worth noting that this thesis focused more on the tourism assets, tourism as a livelihoods choice and tourism livelihoods outcomes. Research on development assets and tourism futures, and the influence of contextual issues on tourism was not as detailed as the three elements mentioned above, which were mainly based on the emic voices from focus groups and less advanced statistical analysis.

Research about the representations of tourism assets, tourism as a livelihoods choice and aspirations for tourism futures suggested that the wider issues (e.g. the primary concern about the stability, the traditional values and the modern values) widely operate on and through the young hosts’ perceptions and preferences. A more comprehensive design may suggest that the young hosts were also articulate in viewing economic, human and social assets and the contextual issues. To overcome

this shortage, specialized studies, for example, the social assets and tourism development, may be helpful. Zhao, Ritchie and Echtner's (2011) index of social capital identified in rural Gaungxi, China, and Park *et al.*'s (2012) approach in rural South Korea, can act as research stimuli to generate more penetrating ideas.

6.5.2 Areas for future research

On reflecting on the whole research project, the researcher suggests five areas for future study that can be developed from the current work. Such future efforts may enhance our knowledge about tourism and livelihoods enhancement.

6.5.2.1 Incorporating other stakeholders, especially the policy makers

The focus on the young generation, the future leaders in a community, contributes to the current tourism research literature which has been somewhat preoccupied with young tourists, not young hosts. It also contributes to the practice, because of its utility with regard to forward-looking perspective. A reviewer of a previous output of this thesis commented that the political power and governance issues should be studied more intensively.

Some tourism studies in and about China have reported that variations in government support can greatly influence the entrepreneurial environment and, hence, the style and pace of tourism development (Qin, Wall, & Liu, 2011; Ryan & Gu, 2009a; Yang, *et al.*, 2008). The field trip in Lhasa and the communication with the researchers' indigenous Tibetan alumni in a coastal university reinforced this representation that in a Chinese context, the government plays essential roles in development, possibly unexpected roles in Tibet. Thus, it is reasonable to say that whether or not the preferences of Tibet youth will eventuate depends on the government's decisions.

In the Chinese context, another issue related to the government decision making is worth considering. The government relies on experts from research centres and universities for intellectual inputs (Wu & Pearce, 2012a). Often industry practitioners and persons in the government require that their scholarly community provides useful

or relevant insights into their world (Fuchs, 1992; Hsu, *et al.*, 2010; Zhang, 2003). This kind of expert gaze is penetrating in a Chinese context (Cheng, 2011; Wu, 2012). It has also been confirmed by the report that in China (including Tibet), the regional development planning is still carried out dominantly by researchers in universities or research centres, rather than consulting companies (Lai, Li, & Feng, 2006).

Connecting this concern with current study, the next step can incorporate the policy makers' representations towards tourism futures in Lhasa. These policy makers will include different departments in Lhasa government (e.g. tourism administration, reform and development, religious, cultural, heritage management, and civil construction departments), researchers in Tibet University and the Tibet academy of social science. It should also include researchers who did the tourism planning and city planning for Lhasa in inland China (e.g. Beijing, Jiangsu and Zhejiang Province). Two major issues can be explored from their perspectives. The first research question is: what are their opinions of the role of "Post 80s" Tibetan youth in future tourism development (in 5-10 years)? The second research question will explore their suggestions and comments on how to use tourism to enhance local livelihoods. Detailed questions could be designed based on the components of the SL approach. In terms of research methods, key informants interviews could be conducted at first to gain their emic voices on the issues mentioned above. A questionnaire based survey may be developed based on the size of sample that the researcher can access. A comparative study could then be developed to augment the findings of the current study.

6.5.2.2 Longitudinally studying the hosts

In their seminal monograph on tourism community studies, Pearce *et al.* (1996) presented a comprehensive list of methodological advice suggested by social representations theories for surveying communities on tourism. One of the comments is that:

“Consider the advantage of longitudinal or repeated survey work so that the

influences and developments relating to change can be monitored (p.186)".

The consideration for longitudinal studies has been well supported by other scholars (Ap, 1990; Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Cohen, 1979b; Getz, 1994; Lai & Nepal, 2006; Quenza, 2005; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). In a series of studies of Hutong tourism in Beijing, Gu and her colleagues suggested that longitudinal studies of a specific tourism community offer a dynamic example of place change under the modernizing influence of urban development and tourism (Gu & Ryan, 2008, 2012).

This study itself offered some clues about the dynamic change in the community's knowledge of tourism and tourists. One indigenous participant in a focus group observed, "the differences between Tibetans and inland Han people are not as huge as once they were. The more contact with them, the less mysterious they are. However, we are still unfamiliar with white people. They are unpredictable (L-FG-3, 2010)." In another example, the urban Tibetan youth showed that they were fully aware of the diversity among the Asian tourists, and revealed some stereotypes and preferences towards them. It is suspected that Tibetan youth may develop different strategies in dealing with different groups of tourists, or at least, will form strategies to co-dwell with the tourist presence.

Indeed, previous research reported that increasing encounters with tourists often challenges earlier understandings, forcing hosts to reassess their former ideas and attitudes about how to interact with strangers (Butler, 1980; Gursoy, *et al.*, 2009). They may even come to a different understanding of who tourists are (Erb, 2000; Evans-Pritchard, 1989). The current study has limited power to fully support these ideas, because the two communities were not only in different development stages, but community members also have different social economic backgrounds. At this point it can be noted that both communities are in an earlier phases of tourism development. Views towards tourism and the respondents' livelihoods may change somewhat in the future.

Following this perspective, a similar study to assess the same cohort of hosts in five years' time will be worthwhile. It could monitor how community attitudes and

intentions or behaviours have changed over time. Such a study could provide a clearer picture of the dynamic social and physical environment of tourism in Lhasa. It might also be able to examine the formation and functioning of socially constructed representations for further tourism community futures. To make the longitudinal study more meaningful, the current cohort, Tibetan “Post 80s” youth, can be conducted again as the same group of respondents.

6.5.2.3 Incorporating other development thinking into the SL approach study

The value and advantages of the SL approach and its integration with social representations theory and the emic approach has been well documented in this thesis (see detail at 2.2.2 and 2.2.4). The researcher also suggests adopting some ideas from other development paradigms, which have a different focus but may potentially sharpen the SL approach. One of the potential approaches is the asset-based community development (hereafter referred to as ABCD) perspective.

The ABCD approach was proposed following extensive rethinking of the predominant needs-based approach for urban and rural development in North America (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). The ABCD approach seeks to uncover and utilize the strengths within communities as a means for sustainable development. The premise is that communities can drive the development process themselves by identifying and mobilizing existing (but often unrecognized) assets, thereby responding to and creating local economic opportunities (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). It is also argued that all residents, regardless of age, gender, race and ethnic background, place of residence, or other characteristics, can play an effective role in addressing important local matters (Beaulieu, 2002). It suggests that those who are marginalised and usually defined in terms of needs and problems, such as youth, seniors, people with disabilities, welfare recipients, and local artists, can have a part to play in the community development (Cameron & Gibson, 2001; Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993).

The ABCD approach suggests development “OF” the community rather than “IN” the community (Beaulieu, 2002). Hence, it emphasises that the most important resources in a community are people. Three principles are highlighted. They are asset based, internally focussed, and relationship driven (Kretzmann & McKnight, 1993). These three principles help inform the field based methods and practice. Based on Cameron and Gibson (2001), and Mathie and Cunningham’s (2003, 2005) research, Wu and Pearce (2012, in press) provided a step by step framework of how to apply the ABCD approach (see Figure 6.3).

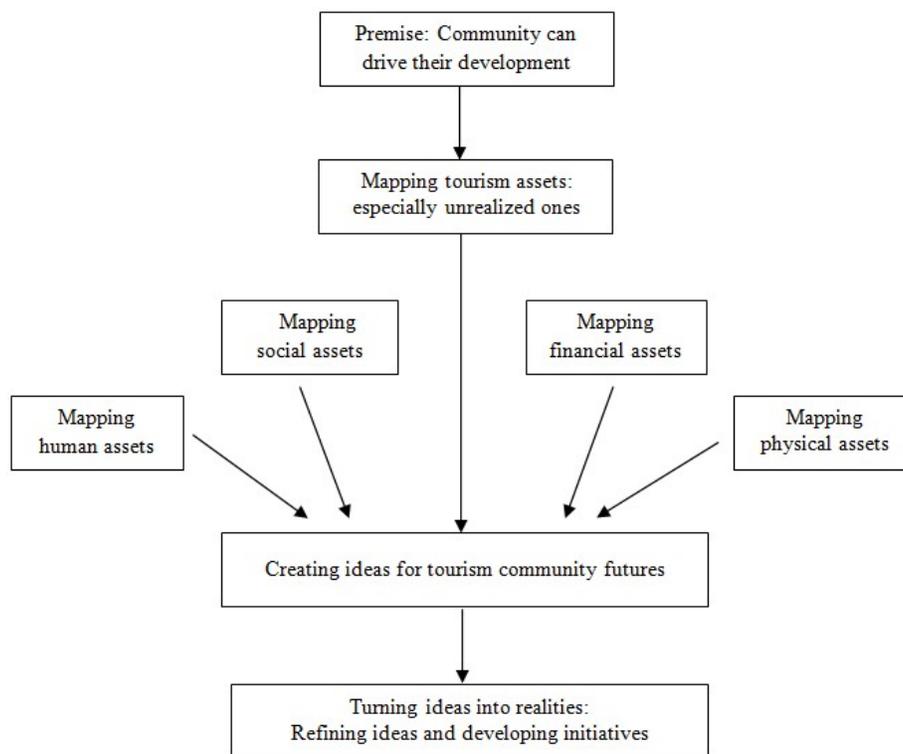


Figure 6. 2: Applying the ABCD approach into tourism livelihoods enhancement

Source: adapted from Wu and Pearce (in press)

Comparing the ABCD approach with the SL approach, the researcher argues that they are consistent with each other in their development style, which views “development as freedom”, rather than “development as economic growth” (Sen, 1999). In detail, the ABCD approach’s seeks to uncover and expand the knowledge and skills of local residents. It corresponds with the “people centred” principle of the SL approach (Wu

and Pearce, in press). In addition, the attention in the ABCD to marginal groups, including youth, is also in accordance with the SL approach's application in pro-poor development and livelihoods enhancement projects worldwide (Nyaupane & Poudel, 2011; Tao & Wall, 2009).

More importantly, the ABCD approach and the SL approach have their own strengths in identifying different development aspects. They are quite complementary to each other. The SL approach offers a holistic framework to examine the whole process of development issues, while the ABCD approach offers more detailed research guidelines on how to map the five sets of assets, especially the unrealized ones and the relatively invisible social assets.

Thus, for future livelihoods related research in a particular sector, including tourism, the ABCD approach can be adopted to identify the assets and generate ideas for development in a specific area. Detailed examination of the assets base provides the solid foundation for the understanding of a specific livelihoods choice under the broader livelihoods portfolio.

6.5.2.4 Applying and testing the SL approach in other tourism areas

The application of the SL approach in development studies has proved to be quite successful and the knowledge about the approach is building with increasing empirical support. For tourism studies concerned, there has been a growth in the literature in recent years, notably after 2006 (Kokkranikal & Morrison, 2011; Lee, 2008; Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; McGowan, 2010; Shen, 2009; Simpson, 2007; Tao, 2006). Most of the previous studies, including the current one, focus on tourism in communities at the village/town/city/region/country level (Ashley, 2000; McMinn, 2006). At the present time, the researcher has only found two studies that had a particular interest in tourism's influence on individual business sectors such as street vendors' livelihoods enhancement (Mandke, 2007; McGowan, 2010).

On review of the SL studies related to tourism research, most of them explored more or less the same research question, that is: how has tourism influenced local

livelihoods? They adopted the holistic SL framework to undertake the detailed assessment (Ashley, 2000; Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010; Newton & Franklin, 2011; Shen, 2009).

Combing the two research opportunities mentioned above, the researcher suggests carrying out a similar study in tourist market places. In both Asian and Western countries, tourist market places play key roles as important attraction sites, though some of them were not originally designed for tourists (Kikuchi & Ryan, 2007; McGowan, 2010). Tourists visit market places for different reasons: some may search for values; some may seek authentic experiences of a destination; while others may simply look for food and daily leisure. However, there is a common issue. That is, high interaction between the tourist market vendors and tourists (Aiello & Gendelman, 2008; Hsieh & Chang, 2006; Timothy & Wall, 1997), and most of the time, these interactions are enjoyable (see a range of market places at www.tripadvisor.com).

Combining the previous ideas together, a similar study can be done in the tourist market places. For example, the most visited market by foreign tourists in Beijing, the Silk Market, can be focussed and studied. Studies of this kind help understand the interactions between tourists and hosts, the impacts of tourism in an intensive place, and enhance the quality of market experience. An even broader study can be a comparison between a tourist oriented market place and a residents-oriented market place, and through this comparison researchers can assess how tourism operates on and through people's livelihoods opportunities and affects their well-being.

6.6 Conclusion of the study

“Securing and improving people’s livelihood is always the starting point and the aim of accelerating the transformation of China’s economic development mode.”

----- CCCPC (2010)

In 2010, in the Suggestions on Constructing the Guidelines of the Twelfth Five-Year Plan, the Central Committee of Communist Party of China (CCCPC) emphasized their determination to understand and improve the people's livelihoods. This study

addressed this timely issue in the context of one of China's most sensitive but important regions. It is embedded in and fully justified by a critical review of tourism community studies, tourism future studies, tourism and youth studies, as well as tourism studies in China (including Tibet). Two sites at the roof of the world – Lhasa in Tibet, Southwest China – provided the research contexts. The studies explored how the Tibetan “Post 80s” youth view their future livelihoods, especially their views towards tourism as one of their livelihoods choice in the near future. Thus, this thesis has four notable characteristics – forward-looking perspectives, focusing on the young hosts, assessing emic voices, and connecting with the wider contextual issues. Because of these features, this thesis goes beyond a tourism study. In assessing the views of Tibetan “Post 80s” towards tourism futures, this thesis provides some insights into the face of modern Tibet.

“The last quarter (of a century) has been marked by dramatic historical events, major technological innovations and far-reaching social and cultural changes in both the Western and non-Western parts of the world (Cohen & Cohen, 2012, p.2177).” Lhasa, a city at the roof of the world, is not an exception to these transitions. Due to its isolation in the past and tourism's critical role at the current stage, Tibet actually has much to offer both those who visit and those who seek to study modernization in and through tourism.

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Appendix I: Information sheet for Photo-elicitation

Interviews

Note: The information sheet was designed in multiple-languages (English, Mandarin and Tibetan).

Considering the length of this thesis, only the English edition is presented. The Mandarin and Tibetan information sheets are available from the author on request at maoying.wu@my.jcu.edu.au.

Project Introduction

This project is part of Maoying Wu's Ph. D study in James Cook University, Australia. This project considers a basic question—how do the young Tibetan hosts perceive and prefer tourism futures from a livelihoods perspective? This study adopts emic and etic approaches in a symbiotic way, and endeavours to represent the local voices through careful research design.

Purpose of Photo-elicitation Interviews

Photo-elicitation interviews are used in this research as the exploratory qualitative research method, preceding focus groups and the etic quantitative surveys. Combining the power of images, they help the researcher to elicit information on local assets (including natural, financial, physical, human, and social capital) for tourism development, and potential tourism activities.

Requirements for the participants

① You will be offered a digital camera by the researcher, and you are asked to take 10-15 photos concerning the following two questions.

- In the Old Town of Lhasa/ Caigongtang Town, what kind of resources do you think can be used for tourism purposes in the next few years? These resources are much more than the physical and natural ones, social capital, human capital and financial capital also play important parts. (The researcher will carefully explain and give examples of what is meant by the different kinds of capital to the

informants.)

- What kind of tourism activities can be developed in the future, based on the resources you identified?

② The photographs are supposed to be taken within a week's time. Please select 10-15 photos and share with the researcher, by interpreting your understanding of these images. Appointments will be made soon.

Note: If you have plenty of personal photographs, you can share these photos directly with the researcher. You do not have to take new ones.

Notes to the participants

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop taking part in the study at any time without explanation or prejudice. You may also withdraw any unprocessed data from the study.

There are no risks associated with this research. If you, however, do feel upset or distressed in any way and for any reason, please advise the researcher and the study will be terminated immediately.

Your responses and contact details will be strictly confidential. The data from the study will be used in thesis writing and research publications. You will not be identified in any way in these publications.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact Maoying Wu

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Appendix II: Information sheet for focus groups

Note: The information sheet was designed in multiple-languages (English, Mandarin and Tibetan). Considering the length of this thesis, only the English edition is presented. The Mandarin and Tibetan information sheets are available from the author on request at maoying.wu@my.jcu.edu.au

Project Introduction

This project is part of Maoying Wu's Ph. D study in James Cook University, Australia. This project considers a basic question—how do the young Tibetan hosts perceive and prefer tourism futures from a livelihoods perspective? This study adopts emic and etic approaches in a symbiotic way, and endeavours to represent the local voices through careful research design.

Purpose of Focus Groups

Focus groups are used in this research as the exploratory qualitative research method after photo-elicitation, but preceding the quantitative surveys. They aim to help the researcher learn the vocabulary, discover the thinking patterns of Tibetan youth from a livelihoods perspective, and obtain insights into their perceptions, feelings, attitudes, and preferences for tourism community relationships. These insights are helpful to develop more emic follow-up research methods such as questionnaire surveys in this study.

Discussion Questions

Twelve questions will be discussed in this focus group interview. They are:

Q1: What are the major attractions in the Old Town that attract people from thousands of miles away? / Which places will you show your friends around if they visit Lhasa?

Q2: For the attractions/places you just discussed, what do you think of their value in tourism development in the future?

Q3: Some of the attractions/places discussed above have not been developed for tourism, what's your opinion in using them for tourism?

Q4: What kind of development style/approach do you prefer? Is there any activity you would like to design in these places, or based on the issues mentioned above?

Q5: What are your images of visitors in Lhasa? If you can choose any kind of tourists, do you have any preferable group?

Q6: To be involved in tourism development, are there any economic assets that are very important?

Q7: To be involved in tourism development, what human assets do you and your communities have and not have?

Q8: Are there any social assets that are indispensable or beneficial for tourism development?

Q9: Is there any social character that is positive to tourism development in Lhasa?

Q10: What do you think of working in the tourism industry? /What do you think of tourism as an income source? Which sub-sectors will be your choices, or your recommendations to your friends?

Q11: In terms of tourism development, are there any obstacles? / If you would like to be involved in the tourism industry, what kind of challenges will you face?

Q12: What kind of tourism development do you think is sustainable for the Old Town of Lhasa?/ What tourism impacts do you think are positive to the long-term development of the Old Town?

Notes to the participants

This focus group will take about 40 minutes to an hour, depends on how rich your ideas on these specific topics are.

Taking part in this study is completely voluntary and you can stop taking part in the study at any time without explanation or prejudice. You may also withdraw any

unprocessed data from the study.

There are no risks associated with this research. If you, however, do feel upset or distressed in any way and for any reason, please advise the researcher and the study will be terminated immediately.

Your responses and contact details will be strictly confidential. The data from the study will be used in thesis writing and research publications. You will not be identified in any way in these publications.

If you have any questions about the study, please contact Maoying Wu

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Appendix III: Questionnaire based survey in the Old Town of Lhasa

Note: The questionnaire based survey in the Old Town of Lhasa was designed in multiple-languages (English, Mandarin and Tibetan). Considering the length of this thesis, only the English edition is presented. The Mandarin and Tibetan edition of surveys are available from the author on request.

NO. L_____



Tourism Community Futures Survey

Thanks for your interest. This survey is designed to gain Tibetan youth's voices on tourism community futures. This survey is conducted by Maoying Wu, for her Ph.D study in James Cook University, Australia. The questionnaire results will help future sustainable tourism development in Tibet. We hope you can spare 20-30 mins to complete this survey.

Part I. Tourism assets and development scenarios

The Old Town of Lhasa is the centre of Tibetan culture and pure land of Tibetan Buddhism. It is full of mystery, splendor and holiness. It occupies a large number of high grade cultural resources.

The world heritage sites in the Old Town of Lhasa (e.g. The Potala Palace, the Jokhang Temple, and the Norbu Linka) attract millions of tourists every year.



- 1) How valuable do you think these world heritage sites are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use these world heritage sites for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to these world heritage sites?

Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of these world heritage sites in the next 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much -----Not at all				
Strictly obey the carrying capacity, keep the current style of cultural sightseeing	5	4	3	2	1
Improve the facilities(e.g. info centres), maximise other resources (e.g. Snow Village), and relieve its pressure on core areas	5	4	3	2	1
Effectively promote winter tourism, and relieve seasonality pressure	5	4	3	2	1

If other styles, please describe_____.

5) For these world heritage sites, what kind of tourists would you like to attract in the next 5-10 years?

Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa* and *Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others_____

Besides the world heritage sites, the Old Town of Lhasa possesses many wonderful but less heard religious heritage sites, including Muru Monasteries, Gyumey Monastery, and Ster Ani Sanghung.



1) How valuable do you think these religious heritage sites are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use these religious heritage sites for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to these religious heritage sites?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of these religious heritage sites in next 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much ---- Not at all				
Simple cultural sightseeing without disturbing Tibetans' pilgrimage	5	4	3	2	1
Combining its historical background, organise some themed activities, e.g. traditional painting at Muru sutra museum	5	4	3	2	1
Promote good behaviour and affect tourists	5	4	3	2	1

If other, please describe _____.

5) For these religious heritages, what kind of tourists would you prefer to attract in next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa* and *Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others _____

The Old Town of Lhasa has 56 traditional residential courtyards. They are of special Tibetan character, and reflecting Tibetan culture and customs. The protection and conservation has gained attention from different stakeholders.



1) How valuable do you think these traditional Tibetan residential courtyards are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use these traditional Tibetan residential courtyards for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to these traditional Tibetan residential courtyards?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development styles of these traditional buildings in the next 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much -- Not at all				
Transfer these yards into Tibetan characterised hotels, e.g. Trichang Labrang hotel	5	4	3	2	1
Combining its historical background, establish some mini themed museums, such as Princess Wencheng Memorial Hall, City construction/ Custom/ Stura Museums	5	4	3	2	1
Transfer them into tea houses, restaurants, Tibetan opera theatre, facilitating both hosts and tourists	5	4	3	2	1

If other, please describe _____.

5) For these traditional Tibetan residential courtyards, what kind of tourists would you prefer to attract in the next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa* and *Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others _____

The live Old Town of Lhasa represents a diversity of Tibetan culture, customs and daily life. Historical streets (e.g. Barkhor St. and Ramoche Temple St.) are very representative and attractive to some tourists.



1) How valuable do you think these historical streets are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use these historical streets for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to these historical streets?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development styles of these historical streets in the next 5-10 years?

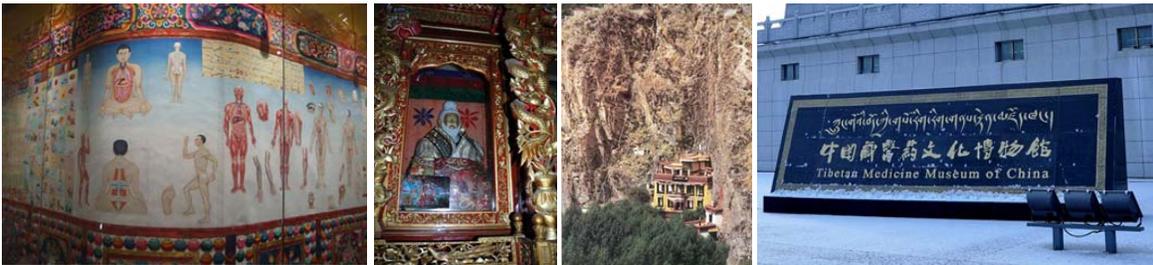
Development styles	Very much -- Not at all				
Keep the current style, combining multiple functions, like pilgrim, sightseeing, and shopping.	5	4	3	2	1
Design new business streets, decrease the business function of historic streets, and strengthen its historic atmosphere.	5	4	3	2	1

If other, please describe_____.

5) For these historical streets, what kind of tourists would you prefer to attract in the next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese
 Middle & western Chinese
 Khampa and *Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean)
 Foreigners (Westerners)
 Others_____

Tibetan medicine is one of the most precious treasures in the medicine history. It is historical and systematic. It is appreciated by local people, and widely accepted by tourists from both home and abroad.



1) How valuable do you think Tibetan medicine is if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable
 Valuable
 Valueless
 Not valuable at all
 Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use Tibetan medicine for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult
 Difficult
 Easy
 Very easy
 Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the next 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to develop Tibetan medicine for tourism purposes?

- Very desirable
 Desirable
 Neutral
 Not desirable
 Not desirable at all

Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of Tibetan medicine in the next 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much--- Not at all				
Develop some tour routes, including sightseeing, health consulting and caring	5	4	3	2	1
Produce more medicine for chronic treat, targeting at tourists	5	4	3	2	1

If other, please describe _____.

5) For Tibetan medicine, what kind of tourists would you prefer to attract in next 5-10 years?

- Coastal Chinese Middle & western Chinese *Khampa* and *Amdo* Tibetans
 Eastern Asians (Japanese, Korean) Foreigners (Westerners) Others _____

Part II: Development assets and tourism development scenarios

Infrastructure is the basis for tourism development in Lhasa at macro level. Physical and financial issues at family level are essential for individual involvement in tourism development.

1) Which infrastructures do you think are most insufficient for future Tourism in in the Old Town of Lhasa? (select up to 3 responses)

- Transportation Communication Water supply Electricity
 Hotels & Restaurants Entertainment facilities Shopping facilities
 Others _____

2) In the following economic elements, which one do you think is the most important?

- Having spare houses / properties in or close to the tourist sites, which is the basis for home stay, restaurants, and other tourism related activities.
 Having some savings for initial investment
 Access to different forms of credit, e.g. borrowing from relatives, banks, micro-credit.
 Others _____ (please specify)

Social assets are about your networks and connection, relations of trust and support, belongings to formal and informal groups, mechanism in decision-making.

Look at the following elements (A-G), and answer question 1) and 2).

- A. Network and connecting with market forces, including travel agencies, tour guides, etc.
- B. Network and connecting with government, which provides support politically
- C. Belonging to formal and informal groups, which offers support and trust
- D. Having influence on decision-making process on tourism development
- E. Formal or informal access to information about livelihoods opportunities
- F. Demonstration individual or family in the community, which is inspiring
- G. Others _____ (specify)

- 1) To develop tourism in your community, which 3 elements are most important? ____、 ____、 ____.
- 2) To develop tourism in your community, which 3 elements are most difficult to obtain)? ____、 ____、 ____.
- 3) Some characteristics formed during the development of Tibetan nation, are beneficial to tourism resources protection and development. Which of the following items do you think are positive to tourism in Tibet? (Please select up to 3 responses) ____、 ____、 ____.
 - A. Tibetans are peaceful, and respect the hamonious relationships between human and nature and society
 - B. Tibetans are proud of their culture, and willing to share with others
 - C. Tibetans has increasing commercial awareness, and know how to seize development choices
 - D. Tibetans are hospitable, straight-forward, forgiving, and easy going with tourists.
 - E. Tibetans are talented, good at dancing and music performance, thus, this culture is attractive
 - F. Tibetans receive better education than ever before, and thus become more qualified.
 - G. Others _____

Human assets are always the first consideration of any development, including tourism.

- 1) To develop tourism in your community, what kind of person is most important?
 - Those who master local knowledge, and have marketing and management knowledge

Those who master local knowledge or/and traditional skills, such as wall painting, weaving, and cooking.

Those who have basic service skills, and know how to entertain tourists.

Others _____ (Please specify)

2) To get qualified tourism personnel, what kind of service/ training is most important?

Getting higher and systematic education in colleges or universities

Getting basic education, and then technique training in special schools

Continuous post-school education/training.

Being involved in tourism industry. Enhancing ones skills by practice.

Others _____ (Please specify)

Part III. Contextual issues and tourism development scenarios

Tourism is a vulnerable industry. It is easily affected by outside forces negatively or positively.

1) Lhasa tourism has a strong seasonality, with many tourists during summer, and few tourists during winter. How do you think seasonality effects tourism in Lhasa?

Very positive Positive Neutral Negative Very negative Not sure

2) Shocks are unexpected, and sometimes they do extreme harm to tourism development.

In the following shocks, which one is worst to tourism development?

Natural disaster Unexpected incidents, like violence or civil unrest

Economy crisis Others _____ (specify)

3) Tibet is mysterious to most of people who have never visited Tibet. There is much negative pre-image and misunderstanding of Tibet, for example, high altitude reaction.

What do you think of these pre-visit images?

They reflect prejudice and harm Tibetan development. I'd like to tell the truth whenever possible.

They reflect prejudice, and the government and media should take the responsibility to promote the right image.

They reflect truth. We can do nothing to change it.

Others _____ (Please specify)

Formal and informal organizational and institutional factors, including policies, institutions, and process, play important roles in shaping livelihood assets and outcomes in the sustainable livelihoods system.

- 1) What do you think is the government's policy towards tourism development?
 - Tourism is an important industry, and fully supported by the government.
 - Tourism is recognized as an important industry, however, the facilities and service by government is far from sufficient.
 - In practice, tourism is not important, compared to other industries.
 - Others_____ (specify)
- 2) In the following organizations, which one can provide more service in terms of tourism development?
 - Local government The third party, like NGOs, and industry association
 - Funding organizations (e.g. Hope project)
 - Media, e.g. TV, films, newspapers, and internet Others_____ (specify)

Part IV: Tourism as a livelihoods strategy

From 1980s, tourism has become a livelihood strategy for some Lhasa citizens and migrants.

- 1) What do you believe is the main source of income for those living in Lhasa Old Town?
 - Handicraft Wholesale and retailing tourism renting Public service
 - others_____
- 2) In the next 5-10 years, what do you think of the relationship between citizens in the Old Town of Lhasa and tourism as a livelihood strategy?
 - Tourism will probably be their main livelihoods, and core sources of their income
 - Tourism will be one of livelihoods, and constitute a supplement to their income
 - Tourism will not have much to do with most of them, and their construct of income will be similar as nowadays.
- 3) In the next 5-10 years, what is your preferred role of tourism in the Old Town of Lhasa?
 - Significant increase Moderate increase Same as present
 - Moderate decrease Significant decrease not sure

-----If you choose more tourism development in the next 5-10 years, what are your suggestions for stimulating tourism development?

- Improve and intensify promotion and marketing in creative styles (e.g. movie/internet/festival marketing)
- Develop new tourist sites, and relieve the pressure on traditional sites
- Develop winter and night tourism products, relieve the negative effects brought by seasonality
- Improve the general service and facilities (e.g. banks, gardens, shopping mall)
- Improve tourist service and facilities (e.g. accommodation, information centre)
- Others _____ (specify)

4) In the next 5-10 years, are you willing to work in the tourism industry?

- Yes, definitely
- Yes, more than likely
- Unlikely
- Definitely not
- Not sure

----- If yes, why?

- I enjoy interacting with different people from worldwide.
- Tourism is a promising industry, I'm sure I will have a good career in this industry.
- Tourism jobs in Tibet is flexible, I can have a long holiday in winter.
- Tourism jobs don't require much skill and knowledge, which makes it easy to access.
- Others _____ (specify)

----- If no, why?

- Service industry, including tourism, is not respected by the whole society.
- The seasonality in tourism industry makes me not secure.
- It's repetitive physical work, not creative at all.
- The income in tourism industry is too low.
- Pressures from family members and friends.
- Others _____ (specify)

5) If you have the opportunity to set up your own business in tourism industry, would you:

- Yes, I would try if possible.
- No, I don't want to be my own boss.
- Not sure

6) In terms of tourism entrepreneurship, what are your main concerns?

- Entrepreneurship is risky, and I prefer stable career.
- I'm satisfied with my current job.

Business is not respected in Tibet, and I prefer working for the government and related organizations.

I have financial difficulty in setting up my own business

I have difficulty in finding suitable partners, and building a strong team.

Pressures from family members and friends.

Others _____ (specify)

7) In the next 5-10 years, if you are going to take tourism as a job, which areas will you choose? (select up to 3 responses)

hospitality travel agency Scenic spots tourism transportation

related civil service related entrepreneurship informal sector (vendor)

related sectors (tourism publishing, marketing, consulting) others

Part V: Outcomes (Sustainable tourism)

Sustainable tourism development in Lhasa old urban district is not only related to you, but also to the whole city.

Please judge the importance and expected performance of the following indicators of sustainable tourism.

In terms of importance, 1=very important, 5= not important at all.

In terms of expected performance, 1= will definitely come truth, 5= will never come truth

No.	Contents	Importance 1-----5	Expected Performance 1-----5
1	Tibetan culture is appreciated and protected		
2	More people approach Lhasa with an open mind		
3	Maintains and even improves the environment		
4	Tourism is beneficial to the hosts and enhance their well-being		
5	Community participate in tourism development (e.g. decision making)		
6	Enhance hosts' service skills and overall qualities		
7	Tourists are satisfied and willing to make positive recommendation		
8	Adopt environmental friendly materials and technologies		
9	Availability of legislation and regulations, an orderly industry		

Part VI: Demographic & Psychographic Information

- 1) Gender? Male Female
- 2) Nationality: Tibetan Menba Luoba Hui Han Others
- 3). Age: 1980-1984 1985-1989 Others
- 4). Education: Junior middle school or under Senior middle school/Technical school
 College/university Postgraduate or above
- 5). Religious belief:
 a devout believer believe, but just a church man no religious belief
- 6). How many years have you lived in Lhasa?
 1-2 years 3-5 years 6-9 years 10 years or more
- 7). How often do you have contacts with tourists?
 always often sometimes seldom
- 8). Is tourism in Lhasa old urban district beneficial to you or your family?

- totally benefitted benefitted to some degree not directly benefitted
 not benefitted at all

9) Thinking about tourism in Lhasa old urban district, how would you describe its condition?

- Very good Good Neutral Poor Very poor Not sure

10) Thinking about the state of tourism in Lhasa old urban district in 5-10 years, would you say the state of tourism industry will be

Better than it is now The same as it is now Worse than it is now Not sure

- **Thank you for your time and cooperation** -

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Appendix IV: Questionnaire based survey in Caigongtang Town

Note: The questionnaire based survey in Caigongtang Town was designed in multiple-languages (English, Mandarin and Tibetan) as well. Considering the length of this thesis, only the English edition is presented. The Mandarin and Tibetan edition of surveys are available from the author on request.

NO. C _____



Tourism Community Futures Survey in Caigongtang Town

This survey is designed to gain Lhasa youth's voices on tourism community futures. This survey is conducted by Maoying Wu, for her Ph.D study in James Cook University, Australia. The questionnaire results will help future sustainable tourism development in Lhasa. We hope you can spare 15-20 mins to complete this survey.

Part I. Tourism assets and development scenarios

Caigongtang town is located on the other side of Lhasa river, opposite to Lhasa urban district. It possesses rich and beautiful natural beautiful resource, known as *Linka* in Tibet.

1. The *Linka* resources in Caigongtang town, grassland, rivers, green trees, is attractive to citizens to relax during weekends and holidays in summer time.



1) How valuable do you think *linka* resources are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use *linka* resources for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Please describe.

3) In the future 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to attract more tourists to *linka* resources in Caigongtang Town?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of *linka* resources in future 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much -- Not at all				
Collectively organize and manage the <i>Linka</i> resources by the village/group committee. Villagers benefit equally;	5	4	3	2	1
Outsource, transfer the use and management rights to investors, who will subsequently pay rent to the village and may get some villagers involved in the operation;	5	4	3	2	1
Improve the facilities and provide basic services, attracting nearby Tibetan citizens;	5	4	3	2	1
Establish high-grade resorts, attracting highly consumption oriented visitors, mainly group visitors from working units in the city;	5	4	3	2	1
Encourage villager to sell local products near these Linka resources.	5	4	3	2	1

If other styles, please describe_____.

5) For *linka* resources, what kind of tourists would you like to attract in the future 5-10 years?

- Individual city people Groups city people Tourists from inland China
 Tourists from abroad Others_____

2. Caigongtang Town is rich in folk custom resources, reflecting the authentic Tibetan villages. Nowadays, there are a rising number of new style Tibetan houses, which ensures the space for “Tibetan house enjoyment” tourism.



1) How valuable do you think those folk custom and rural resources are if they are used for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very valuable Valuable Valueless Not valuable at all Not sure

2) How difficult do you think it will be to use those folk custom and rural resources for future tourism development in 5-10 years?

- Very difficult Difficult Easy Very easy Not sure

---- What kind of difficulty can you expect? Pls. describe.

3) In the future 5-10 years, how desirable do you think it is to develop those folk custom and rural resources as tourism attractions?

- Very desirable Desirable Neutral Not desirable Not desirable at all
 Not sure

4) To what degree do you like the following development style of those folk custom and rural resources in future 5-10 years?

Development styles	Very much --- Not at all				
Use one's own spare house or rent others, and provide hospitality services showing traditional Tibetan culture, e.g. family inns, restaurants and tea rooms;	5	4	3	2	1
Invite outside experienced companies to build large scale Tibetan style resorts;	5	4	3	2	1
Set up local performance team, showing Tibetan culture both in town and other places;	5	4	3	2	1
Develop some souvenirs that are popular and easy to carry, from the local agricultural products (e.g. yak meat, highland barley, potato, tomato, and melons)	5	4	3	2	1

If other, please describe _____.

5) For those folk custom and rural resources, what kind of tourists would you prefer to attract in future 5-10 years?

- Individual city people Groups city people Tourists from inland China
 Tourists from abroad Others _____

Part II: Development assets and tourism development scenarios

1. **Economic assets:** Infrastructure is the basis for tourism development in Caigongtang at macro level. Physical and financial issues at family level are essential for family or individual involvement in tourism development.

2) Which infrastructure do you think is most insufficient for future Tourism in Caigongtang?

- Transportation Communication Water supply Electricity
 Hotels & Restaurants Entertainment facilities Shopping facilities
 Others _____

3) Who do you think should be responsible for these facilities?

- Government Local communities or villages Business or investors
 Others _____

3) In the following economic elements, which one do you think are most important?

- Having spare traditional houses near tourist sites, which is basis for home stay, restaurants, and other tourism related assets
 Having some savings for initial investment
 Access to all forms of credit, e.g. borrowing from relatives, banks, micro-credit.
 Others _____ (specify)

2. **Social assets:** Social assets are about your networks and connection, relations of trust and support, belongings to formal and informal groups, mechanism in decision-making.

1) To develop tourism in your community, which element is most difficult to obtain? (1-3 multiple choice)

A. Network and connecting with market forces, including travel agencies, tour guides, etc.

B. Network and connecting with government, which provides support politically

- C. Belonging to formal and informal groups, which offers support and trust
- D. Having influence on decision-making process on tourism development
- E. Formal or informal access to information about livelihoods opportunities
- F. Demonstration individual or family in the community, which is inspiring
- G. Others _____ (specify)

2) Some characters formed during the development of Tibetan nation, are beneficial to tourism resources protection and development. In the following elements, which one do you think is positive? (1-3 multiple choice)

- A. Tibetans are peaceful, and respect the harmonious relationships between human and nature and society
- B. Tibetans are proud of their culture, and willing to share with others
- C. Tibetans has increasing commercial awareness, and know how to seize development choices
- D. Tibetans are hospitable, straight-forward, forgiving, and easy going with tourists.
- E. Tibetans are talented, good at dancing and music performance, thus, this culture is attractive
- F. Tibetans are united, and they can work together cohesively
- F. Tibetans receive better education than ever before, and thus become more qualified.
- G. Others _____

3. **Human assets:** Human assets are always the first consideration of any development, including tourism. Pls. choose the most suitable answers for following questions.

1) To develop tourism in your community, what kind of personal is most important?

- Those who master local knowledge, and have marketing and management knowledge
- Those who master local knowledge or/ and traditional skills, like wall painting, waiving, cooking, etc.
- Those who have basic service skills, and knows how to entertain tourists.
- Others _____ (specify)

2) To get qualified tourism personnel, what kind of service/ training is most important?

- Getting higher and systematic education in colleges or universities

- Getting basic education, and then technique training in special schools
- Continuous post-school education/training.
- Be involved in tourism industry, practice makes perfect.
- Others _____ (specify)

Part III. Contextual issues and tourism development scenarios

1. **Vulnerability Context.** Tourism is a vulnerable industry. It is easily affected by outside forces negatively or positively. Pls. choose the suitable answers for the following questions.
 - 1) Tourism in Lhasa has a strong seasonality, with too many tourists during summer, and few tourists during winter. How do you think seasonality's effects on Tibet tourism?
 - Very positive Positive Neutral Negative Very negative Not sure
 - 2) Shocks are unexpected, and sometimes they do extreme harm to tourism development. In the following shocks, which one is worst to tourism development?
 - Natural disaster Unexpected incidents, like violence or civil unrest
 - Economy crisis Others _____ (specify)

2. **Policy, Institution & Process.** Formal and informal organisational and institutional factors, including policies, institutions, and process, play important roles in shaping livelihood assets and outcomes in the SL system. Pls. choose suitable answers for the following questions.
 - 3) How do you think government's policy towards tourism development?
 - Tourism is an important industry, and fully supported by the government.
 - Tourism is recognized as an important industry, however, the facilities and service by government is far from sufficient.
 - In practice, tourism is not important, compared to other industries.
 - Others _____ (specify)
 - 4) In The following organizations, which one can provide more service in terms of tourism development?
 - Local government The third party, like NGOs, and industry association

- Funding organizations (e.g. Hope project) Media, e.g. TV, newspapers and internet
- Others _____ (specify)

Part IV: Tourism as a livelihoods strategy

Tourism in Caigongtang Town is in the initial stage. It is predicted local livelihoods will be more or less affected in future 5-10 years with the development of rural tourism.

- 1) What's the main source of income for those living in Caigongtang town?
 - Agriculture Animal husbandry Mining Casual or temporary jobs
 - Transportation Handicraft making Service industry Others _____

- 2) In the next 5-10 years, when many tourists arrive at Caigongtang, which tourism livelihoods activities will you be most interested in?
 - Traditional Tibetan incense making Tibetan incense family inns
 - Tibetan restaurants, tea houses selling local handicrafts
 - tourism transportation service folk performance
 - working in local tourism companies tour guide service
 - providing food, vegetables to local hotels, restaurants others _____

- 3) In the next 5-10 years, what do you think of the relationship between villagers in Tenbu town and tourism as a livelihood strategy?
 - Tourism will probably be their main livelihoods, and core sources of their income
 - Tourism will be one of livelihoods, and constitute a supplement to their income
 - Tourism will not have much to do with most of them, and their construct of income will be similar as nowadays.

- 3) In the next 5-10 years, what is your preferred role of tourism in Lhasa old urban district?
 - Significant increase Moderate increase Same as present not sure

- If you support more tourism development in the next 5-10 years, what are your suggestions for stimulating tourism development?
 - Develop more diversified tourism products based on Linka resources and the rurality in the town
 - Improve and intensify promotion and marketing, attracting more tourists
 - Improve the infrastructures in the town, especially the sealed roads.

- Training and guiding opportunities organized by the government, which enhances our service, communication skills, and overall qualities.
- Improve the general service and facilities (e.g. banks, gardens, shopping mall)
- Improve tourist service and facilities (e.g. accommodation, information centre)
- Others _____ (specify)

Part V: Outcomes (Sustainable tourism)

Sustainable tourism development in Caigongtang town is not only related to you, but also to the whole town.

Please judge the importance and expected performance of the following indicators of sustainable tourism.

In terms of importance, number 1 -5 stand for very importance to not important at all.

In terms of expected performance, number 1-5 stand for will definitely come truth to will never come truth.

No.	Contents	Importance	Expected performance
1	Improvement of public infrastructures, e.g. the road will be sealed		
2	More fun in the community, with more hospitality and entertaining facilities		
3	We benefit from tourism, and will be richer, with more disposable income		
4	Maintains and even improves the environment, e.g. the <i>Linka</i> resources		
5	Local culture and customs are appreciated and protected		
6	Community participate in tourism development (e.g. decision making, job)		
7	Villagers will be modern, open, and civilized, with skills and good qualities		
8	More people know Caigongtang, and would like to visit us		
9	City people enjoy our community and are happy to come back		

Part VI: Demographic & Psychographic Information

- 1) Gender? Male Female
- 2) Nationality: Tibetan Menba Luoba Hui Han Others
- 3). Age: 1980-1984 1985-1989 Others
- 4). Degree: Junior middle school or under Senior middle school/Technical school
 College/university Postgraduate or above
- 5). Religious belief:
 a devout believer believe, but just a church man no religious belief
- 6). How many years have you been in Caigongtang town?
 1-2 years 3-5 years 6-9 years 10 years or more
- 7). Do you have any contact with tourists?
 always often sometimes seldom
- 8) Does tourism in Cigongtang Town bring any benefits to you or your family?
 totally benefitted benefitted to some degree not directly benefitted
 not benefitted at all
- 9) Thinking about tourism in Caigongtang town in future 5-10 year, would you say the state of tourism industry will be
 Very good Good Neutral Poor Very poor Not sure

-

- **Thank you for your time and cooperation** -

If you require further information, please contact

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